FOREIGN
BROADCAST
INFORMATION
SERVICE

Daily Report

East Europe

FBIS-EEU-93-027
Thursday
11 February 1993

Daily Report
East Europe

FBIS-EEU-93-027 CONTENTS *11 February 1993*

NOTICE TO READERS: An * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Bosnian Muslims Want Strong U.S. Role in Talks *[AFP]* ... 1
Albania Opposes Macedonian Membership in CSCE *[ATA]* ... 1
Spanish UN Forces Depart for Bosnia *[Madrid Radio]* ... 1

ALBANIA

EFTA Delegation Briefed on Laws, Activity *[ATA]* ... 2
    Joint Cooperation Statement Signed *[ATA]* ... 2
Bill on State Enterprises Law Supplement Approved *[ATA]* ... 2
Emigration Department Activity Reported *[ATA]* ... 2
Diaspora Director Reports on Goals, Activity *[ATA]* ... 3
Miners Trade Union Delegation Arrives for Visit *[ATA]* ... 3
    Meets Local Leaders *[ATA]* ... 3
Trade Unions' Council Views Reform Difficulties *[ATA]* ... 3
Business, District Leaders View Cooperation *[ATA]* ... 4
Good Results Viewed in Ferro-Chromium Production *[ATA]* ... 4
Zhulali, Turkish Delegation Discuss Cooperation *[ATA]* ... 4
Joint Agreement on German Soldiers Graves Approved *[ATA]* ... 4

BULGARIA

EC Envoys Explain Stand on Danube Embargo *[BTA]* ... 5
Yugoslav Embassy Confirms Airspace Violation *[Sofia Radio]* ... 5
Berov, Kazakh Prime Minister Discuss Cooperation *[BTA]* ... 5
Transport Cooperation Discussed With Turkey *[BTA]* ... 6
New Visa Agreement With Turkey Discussed *[BTA]* ... 6
Staff Chief Receives Turkish Air Force Delegation *[BTA]* ... 6
Turks Ready To Join 'Volunteer Corps' in Bosnia *[BTA]* ... 6
National Bank Blamed for 1992 Budget Problems *[BTA]* ... 6
    Bank Rejects Allegations *[BTA]* ... 7
Defense Minister Meets Podkrepa Leadership *[BULGARSKA ARMIYA 5 Feb]* ... 8

CZECH REPUBLIC

Electronic Gates Installed Along Border *[CTK]* ... 9
Border Region Club Opposes Germanization of Area *[MLADA FRONTA DNES 8 Feb]* ... 9
Impact of Asylum Law on FRG-Czech Ties Viewed *[HOSPODARSKE NOVINY 8 Feb]* ... 9
Klaus Convenes Meeting To Discuss Romany Issue *[CTK]* ... 9
Slovak Defense Ministry Official Arrives in Prague *[CTK]* ... 10
Dlouhy Discusses Views Republic's Power Industry *[CTK]* ... 10

SLOVAKIA

Knazko Rejects Meciar's Foreign Ministry Criticism *[NARODNA OBRODA 8 Feb]* ... 11
SNS Support for Kovac Hinges on Andrejcak Withdrawal *[CTK]* ... 11
17 Percent Drop In Output Recorded In 1992 *[Bratislava TV]* ... 12
Armaments Industry Trade Subject To Licensing *[Bratislava TV]* ... 12

HUNGARY

Foreign Affairs Secretary on Ties With Slovakia *[NEPSZABADSAG 8 Feb]* 14
Serbian Trucks Blockade Border Station *[MTI]* 14
Coalition Parties Reject Idea of Fusion *[MTI]* 14
Democratic Forum Official Views Presidium Meeting *[PESTI HIRLAP 8 Feb]* 15
Minister Releases 1992 Foreign Trade Figures *[MTI]* 16

POLAND

Skubiszewski, Saxony's Biedenkopf Agree on Asylum *[Cologne Radio]* 17
Walesa on Domestic Issues, Foreign Relations *[Prague RUDE PRAVO 4 Feb]* 17
Coalition Determined To Defend Budget Bill *[PAP]* 18
  Sejm Begins Budget Debate *[PAP]* 18
Defense Minister Speaks on Military Issues *[Warsaw Radio]* 18
Defense Adviser Discusses Arms Industry *[POLSKA ZBROJNA 4 Feb]* 22

ROMANIA

Convoys Cleared To Pass Iron Gates on Danube *[ROMPRES]* 24
Authorities Check Serbian Convoy at Iron Gates *[Bucharest Radio]* 24
$7 Billion Requested for FRY Embargo Losses *[ROMPRES]* 24
PNL Outlines Stance on Bessarabia, Danube Crisis *[CURIERUL NATIONAL 4 Feb]* 24
Consulates With Ukraine To Open on 'Mutual Basis' *[ROMPRES]* 25
Iliescu Attends Meeting on Security Issues *[ROMPRES]* 25
Spokesman Announces Planned Official Visits *[ROMPRES]* 25
Turkish Foreign Minister Begins Official Visit *[Bucharest Radio]* 26
Vacaroiu, TU Leaders View Financial Difficulties *[ROMPRES]* 26
  Negotiations To Resume 11 February *[ROMPRES]* 26
Manolescu Favors CDR Restructuring *[ROMANIA LIBERA 8 Feb]* 26
Hungarian Official Reports on RMKDP Talks *[NEPSZABADSAG 9 Feb]* 28

BOSNIA-HERCEGOVINA

Izetbegovic Expresses 'Satisfaction' With U.S. Plan *[Zagreb Radio]* 29
  Izetbegovic Welcomes 'New Direction' *[AFP]* 29
Ministers Express Satisfaction With U.S. Plan *[Sarajevo Radio]* 29
Karadzic Says U.S. Peace Plan 'Positive' *[TANJUG]* 29
Commander: Army 'Will Not Allow Any Partition' *[Sarajevo Radio]* 29
Mazowiecki Threatens To Resign Commission *[PAP]* 30
Austrian Minister Describes 'War Against Women' *[AFP]* 30
Sarajevo Assembly Refuses Aid To Protest Fighting *[Sarajevo Radio]* 31
Morillon Promises Aid for Eastern Bosnia *[AFP]* 31
Serb Army Accuses Izetbegovic of 'Terrorism' *[TANJUG]* 32
Serbs Training for Possible 'International' Clash *[Zagreb Radio]* 32
Serbs Reportedly Bombard Srebrenica *[Zagreb Radio]* 32
Sarajevo Radio Reports Continuation of Fighting 33
Serbs Reportedly Using Chemical Agents in Brcko *[Sarajevo Radio]* 33
TANJUG Reports Clashes With 'Mojahedin' *[TANJUG]* 34
Civilian Targets Reportedly Shelled in Ljubinje *[TANJUG]* 34
Muslim-Croat Clashes in Gornji Vakuf Continue *[TANJUG]* 34
Mostar Quiet; Deportation of 14 Serbs Condemned *[Zagreb Radio]* 35
Interior Ministry Reports Intra-Serbian 'Clash' *[Sarajevo Radio]* 35
Serbs, Croats Exchange Prisoners of War *[TANJUG]* 35

CROATIA

Tudjman Discusses Peace Plan, UN Mandate *[Barcelona LA VANGUARDIA 4 Feb]* 36
Skrabalo on Renewal of UNPROFOR Mandate *[Zagreb Radio]* 37
Serbs Accuse Croats of 'Ethnic Cleansing' *[TANJUG]* 37
Views of Croatian Muslim Democratic Party Leader *[DANAS 15 Jan]* 37

Whereabouts of Government Officials *[DANAS 15 Jan]* 38

SLOVENIA

President Views Causes, Consequences of War *[NIN 5 Feb]* 39
Parties View Accords With Liberal Democrats *[DELO 23 Jan]* 44

YUGOSLAVIA

Federal

Kontic To Begin Consultations on Cabinet *[TANJUG]* 45
Government Orders Release of Romanian Barges *[TANJUG]* 45
Serbian, Montenegro Leaders Hold Joint Meeting *[TANJUG]* 45
Government Temporarily Lifts Oil Import Controls *[TANJUG]* 46
Commentary Views Shifts in Internal Policy *[NEDELJNA BORBA 6-7 Feb]* 46
Possibility of Nuclear War in Balkans Examined *[NIN 22 Jan]* 46
Expert Gives Warning of Stealth Technology *[BORBA 21 Jan]* 48
Federal Trade Minister on 'Price Explosion' *[BORBA 25 Jan]* 49
Chief of General Staff Discusses Conflict *[Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 9 Feb]* 49

Serbia

Assembly Elects Sainovic Government *[TANJUG]* 51
Article Reviews Campaign Television Coverage *[NIN 29 Jan]* 52
Nis Machine Industry Needs Government Aid *[BORBA 25 Jan]* 53
Coal Shortage Causes Zastava Car Factory Damage *[BORBA 25 Jan]* 54

Macedonia

Gligorov Discusses Possibility of Recognition *[Milan PANAROMA 7 Feb]* 55
Two-Way Telephone Links With Slovenia Restored *[TANJUG]* 55

Montenegro

Liberal Alliance To Take Part in Government *[TANJUG]* 56
Rozaje Municipality Unable To Cope With Refugees *[TANJUG]* 56

Kosovo

U.S. Plan 'Warmly Welcomed' by Bukoshi *[ATA]* 56
ATA Reports Mazowiecki Comments on Kosovo 57
Serb Police Intensify 'House Searches' *[ATA]* 57
Albanians Ignoring Serb Authorities on Education *[TANJUG]* 57
Qosja Meets With Visiting U.S. Delegation *[ATA]* 58
Kosovo Albanian Leaders in 'Suspense' Phase *[INTERVJU 25 Dec]* 58

Bosnian Muslims Want Strong U.S. Role in Talks

AU1002193493 Paris AFP in English 1932 GMT 10 Feb 93

[Text] United Nations, Feb 10 (AFP)—Bosnian Moslems want the United States to be substantially involved in peace talks on Bosnia-Hercegovina alongside efforts by Russia and the European Community (EC), a Bosnian government official said Wednesday [10 February].

Haris Silajdzic, the Sarajevo government representative at the peace talks in New York, said he hoped Washington "will help the U.N. respect its own resolutions."

"We believe the political weight of the U.S. Government should be put to help the U.N.," he said at a news conference several hours before the new administration of President Bill Clinton was to announce its policy on the Bosnian crisis.

Silajdzic said that his delegation was not ready to negotiate with the other sides in the conflict while Moslems have "a gun pointed at our head, under the continuous genocide."

However, he said he was continuing to talk with mediators, U.N. special envoy Cyrus Vance and EC representative Lord Owen, co-chairmen of the international effort to end the war in the former Yugoslav republic.

Fred Eckhard, a spokesman for the mediators, said the Moslems' refusal to hold direct talks with representatives of the Serbs and the Croats of Bosnia, also in New York for the talks, represented a setback for the peace process.

Vance and Owen have said several times that the Moslems were stalling negotiations as they waited for stronger support from Washington.

Albania Opposes Macedonian Membership in CSCE

AU1002184893 Tirana ATA in English 1118 GMT 10 Feb 93

[Text] Tirana, February 10 (ATA)—The 19th meeting of the CSCE senior officials held in Prague recently was attended by an Albanian delegation too. The request of Macedonia for membership to the CSCE was on the agenda of this meeting. This request was refuted by Denmark as the turn host of the European Community.

The Albanian delegation read a statement. It explained that Albania cannot accept Macedonia's membership to the CSCE as long as the problem of the Albanians living there is not yet solved correctly. The statement said that Albania is much concerned with the existence of Macedonia as a state and the very good relations with it. The meeting of senior official refuted Macedonia's request.

Another item of the agenda was the situation in ex-Yugoslavia. In this regard, Dashnor Dumi, director at Multilateral Cooperation and International Organizations Department of Foreign Ministry and leader of the Albanian delegation, made a speech. He explained among the other things the urgent need to send UN forces in Kosovo according to the decision of the meeting of the CSCE Council of Ministers at Stockholm. He said that it is necessary that the CSCE apply the same standards for all the member states. While the international community was anxious to get an answer from the parliament of the Serb Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina concerning the Vance-Owen plan, this right was denied to the people of Kosovo when they tried to constitute the parliament which derived from fair elections in Kosovo. Kosova has always had its parliament. This is common knowledge.

Bosnia-Hercegovina is an example which should be avoided especially when the world is aware of Serbs' goal to establish Big Serbia [Greater Serbia], said Mr. Dumi. There will be no stability in the region as long as there exists in the Serbs' mind the idea of Big Serbia, as long as they will seek to realize their goals by means of arms and as long as they will be supported.

The delegation persisted to include the request for sending UN forces in Kosovo in the records of the meeting. This request was refuted as it is necessary to wait for the result of negotiations on Bosnia-Hercegovina in New York.

Spanish UN Forces Depart for Bosnia

LD0802214193 Madrid RNE-1 Radio Network in Spanish 2100 GMT 8 Feb 93

[Text] After many delays, the Spanish Navy ship Martin Posadillo, which will supply Spanish legionnaires to Bosnia, finally set sail this evening from Melilla for the Adriatic. Pedro Medina reports for RNE in Melilla:

[Begin recording] The Martin Posadillo is carrying vehicles, weapons, ammunition, and military uniforms for the Spanish UN forces who are monitoring humanitarian relief aid in Bosnia. The cargo is being guarded by four legionnaires. According to Defense Ministry sources, the ship will dock at Valencia during the night to take on more materiel. It will then set sail for Split, Croatia.

The Martin Posadillo arrived in Melilla on 2 February, intending to stay only a few hours until the cargo was loaded. However, engine trouble prevented it from departing until repairs were carried out this weekend by mechanics sent from Madrid. [end recording]

EFTA Delegation Briefed on Laws, Activity

AU1002185693 Tirana ATA in English 0927 GMT 10 Feb 93

[Text] Tirana, February 10 (ATA)—On February 9 before noon, the deputy chairman of the Presidency of the People's Assembly, Mr. Tomor Malasi, met with EFTA's [European Free Trade Association] delegation headed by the head of Department of Economic Affairs, Mr. Per Wijkam. Expressing his delight over the intensification of Albania's relations with EFTA, Mr. Malasi presented the activity of the Assembly regarding the approval of the economic laws, which back up the reform in Albania.

We do not look back, he said, but we well bear in mind the past, a bitter experience, in our road to consolidate democracy and integrate the country into the market economy.

EFTA's delegation members showed interest in such laws as that on foreign investments, privatization, the return of properties. They also showed interest in the stand of various parliamentary groups on problems of the reform, the relations with the international organisations, etc.

Joint Cooperation Statement Signed

AU1002185493 Tirana ATA in English 0920 GMT 10 Feb 93

[Text] Tirana, February 10 (ATA)—A joint statement on further economic cooperation is signed between Albania and the EFTA member states (Austria, Finland, Iceland, Liechtenstein, Norway, Sweden, and Switzerland). It expresses the common desire to cooperate in finding the ways and means to stimulate, expand, and multiply trade and economic relations, based on bilateral profit, nondiscrimination, and reciprocity. Relying on bilateral cooperation, Albania and the EFTA states will stimulate and expand contacts in the conditions of market economy. The aim is to create conditions to stimulate private initiative, free competition, and economic activity based on the market's forces.

An EFTA delegation made up of Per Wijkman, Doris Bertrand, and Ivar Pettersen came to Albania for cooperation on the basis of this statement.

The delegation met with heads of the Ministry of Foreign Trade and Economic Cooperation and other institutions and examined the concrete ways and means to expand and liberalize trade relations between EFTA states and Albania, bearing in mind their international obligations, especially GATT's principles and materials, to strengthen bilateral scientific cooperation and to stimulate and defend investments.

Bill on State Enterprises Law Supplement Approved

AU1002185893 Tirana ATA in English 0920 GMT 10 Feb 93

[Text] Tirana, February 10 (ATA)—On February 9 the People's Assembly discussed the draft law on a supplement to the Law on State Enterprises. According to this draft law, the enterprises and the other non budgetary state juridical persons are allowed to receive or give credit to the state or private subjects to buy and sell their goods.

Due to the dismantling of the agricultural cooperatives, a group of its workers are already unemployed and not enjoying social assistance. The minister of labour, emigration, social assistance, and the former politically persecuted ones, Mr. Dashamir Shehi, said that their number amounts to about 4,000. As their unemployment is due to the application of the economic reform in agriculture, the assembly decided today that they profit from the Law of Social Assistance. To this end the deputies examined the draft law on some changes to the Law No. 7,521, dated October 30, 1991, On Social Assistance for the Persons Who Are Unemployed due to the Application of the Economic Reform.

The two draft laws were approved by the deputies in principle, article by article, and as a whole.

In the afternoon, the Assembly continued the proceedings in parliamentary groups, Commissions of Law, Economy, and Finances, and other permanent commissions, in which the deputies discussed on various supplements and amendments submitted to the parliament for examination.

Emigration Department Activity Reported

AU1002210593 Tirana ATA in English 1125 GMT 8 Feb 93

[Text] Tirana, February 8 (ATA)—Avenir Kika, head of Emigration Department at the Ministry of Labor, Emigration, and Social Support of the political persecuted ones, said in his interview with the newspaper BALLI I KOMBIT that this department started work with an agreement with Germany. The visit of Premier Meksi and minister Shehi to Italy also contributed to the opening of the Italian labour market for the Albanian workers. About 1,000 workers were sent in a seven month period of 1992 considering their professional education. For the current year 500-1,000 persons, who will attend German language courses and will undergo professional tests, will be sent to Germany, he said.

He also said that efforts are being made towards the Arab countries. Talks are underway at a governmental level. Efforts are also being made with the private agencies, which will have their say on this problem.

As regards the defence of the rights of the Albanian refugees in various countries, Mr. Kika said that the ministry has prepared the conventions to defend the rights of the Albanian workers in Greece, Italy, etc., which the Foreign Ministry will present to the foreign ministries of these countries.

Diaspora Director Reports on Goals, Activity

AU1002190693 Tirana ATA in English 1123 GMT 9 Feb 93

[Text] Tirana, February 9 (ATA)—Never has the Albanian diaspora been an organized force in service of this country. Unfortunately its presence in the Albanian state presently is still little. The state security, famous for its subversive activity in the Albanian embassies in the United States, Turkey, Germany, Switzerland, etc., created splits alongst the Albanians residing abroad. The strategy of the communist regime was realized by orienting them to a single party system and by eliminating the opponents to this regime. The ex-missionaries of Enver Hoxha fulfilled their mission by setting these two groups of people against one another. Albania did not learn from world experience in this regard. Diaspora in foreign countries has rendered a great contribution at decisive moments of the history of their states.

Presently the Department of Diaspora faces an old reality. This department is the newest department at the Foreign Ministry. The establishment of fresh contacts with diaspora, the conduct of cultural and economic activities, as well as the revival of the Albanian patriotic spirit according to the new foreign policy, are some of the main activities of this department.

The goal is to consolidate those elements which unite our nation, Esat Myftari, director of this department, told the ATA reporter. Apart from other problems, we have to settle the national issue.

He also said that the abolition of visas and the declaration of nationality for the Albanians abroad established new forms of communication for the Albanians of diaspora. We can find people living abroad who have been successful in all areas, business, science, arts, etc.

Miners Trade Union Delegation Arrives for Visit

AU1002195193 Tirana ATA in English 0926 GMT 8 Feb 93

[Text] Tirana, February 8 (ATA)—A delegation of the International Miners' Trade Unions made up of Mr. Manfred Marda, secretary of the German Miners' Trade Unions, and Mr. Jean Pierre Cabluch, secretary of the French Miners' Trade Unions, arrived in our country on February 7 invited by the Albanian Geologists, Miners, and Upgraders' Trade Unions.

The delegation had negotiations with the Presidency of the Albanian Miners' and Geologists' Trade Unions. Gezim Kalaja, president of these trade unions, briefed the friends with the creation and efforts of the trade unions to protect the miners' interests and the development of democratic processes in our country. The trade unionist guests promised to provide technical, financial, and organizational support to the Albanian trade unions.

Meets Local Leaders

AU1002195393 Tirana ATA in English 0931 GMT 10 Feb 93

[Text] Tirana, February 10 (ATA)—After the visits in the mines of Myshqeta, Krrabe, and Valias on February 9, the representative of the International Miners' Trade Union, Mr. Manfred Varda and Mr. Jean Pjerre Clabuch saw the working and living conditions of the miners, they talked with the leaders of the Miners' Trade Union and leaders of the Public Service and Flour-Bread Trade Union of Albania.

After the presentation by Mr. Kalaja and Mr. Tomor Nushaj, Mr. Varda and Mr. Clabuch acquainted the participants with the German and French trade unions and responded the numerous questions put by those present. Mr. Varda stressed that the Internationale of the Mines considers an honour to have in its ranks the Independent United Trade Unions of Miners, Geologists, and Mineral Enrichers of Albania, a militant trade union which has made an extraordinary contribution to the overthrow of communism and the victory of democracy in Albania.

On February 9, Messieurs Varda and Clabuch met and talked with the Premier of Albania Mr. Aleksander Meksi, the Minister of Emigration Dashamir Shehi, and the Vice Minister of Mining and Energy Resources Franko Krroqi.

Trade Unions' Council Views Reform Difficulties

AU1002190293 Tirana ATA in English 1132 GMT 9 Feb 93

[Text] Tirana, February 9 (ATA)—The National Council of the Albanian Independent Trade Unions convened recently. The meeting focused on the difficulties the workers come across in the context of the promotion of the reform launched by the government.

In this regard, the Albanian Independent Trade Unions declared that they fully support the reform, as the only way to come out from the collapse. They also said that they were against the artificial aggravation of the consequences weighing on the shoulders of the working people.

The participants in the meeting unanimously endorsed a protest addressed to all the international forums and organizations Albania adheres to and called on them to use their influence to review those laws which run counter to the interests of the trade unions, such as the Law on the Trade Unions, the Law on Strike, and other laws.

Business, District Leaders View Cooperation

AU1002210893 Tirana ATA in English 1137 GMT 8 Feb 93

[Text] Tirana, February 8 (ATA)—The office of Interborder Business Cooperation, dependent on the Egnatia Epirus Institution and which obtains data also on the Albanian economy, was created in December 1990 in Yannina. Ms. Margarita Angjeli, counselor on economic affairs with Albania, in this office, explained that it is created in the context of interborder cooperation of Interreg Programme, financed by the European Community. A conference organised of late by this institution, which was also attended by chairmen of the councils and municipalities of Tepelene, Sarande, Gjirokaster, Fier, Permet, Lac, and Kruje, showed special interest in the chemical and timber processing industries of Lac District. It also pointed to the experience of the Albanians in the mineral extraction industry, that of textile, and to the possibilities to develop tourism in Albania. Representatives of the Greek Ministry of Economy showed interest in the development of this district and expressed their desire to study the factories closely. The visit is expected to be realised this month.

Good Results Viewed in Ferro-Chromium Production

AU1002210793 Tirana ATA in English 1128 GMT 8 Feb 93

[Text] Tirana, February 8 (ATA)—How to attain an effective exploitation of chrome, this great national asset, in order to make more money—this was the concern at the national meeting on chrome held recently. The normal work is going on this year in the ferro chrome mines, upgrading factories and plants. This year the extraction of mineral, production of concentrate and ferrochrome is expected to increase respectively by 50, 30, and 70 percent compared to last year.

These forecasts are possible considering the level of the reserves, the technical state of machines and equipment in mines, factories, and plants. The right of the Ferro Chrome Corporation to export the mineral is an important factor to increase export.

Contacts with foreign firms interested in the Albanian chrome have increased and February 15 is the deadline to endorse the offers submitted by these firms.

Zhulali, Turkish Delegation Discuss Cooperation

AU1002195593 Tirana ATA in English 1914 GMT 10 Feb 93

[Text] Tirana, February 10 (ATA)—Safet Zhulali, minister of defence, met a Turkish military delegation led by General Lieutenant Erol Tutali.

Mr. Zhulali said that the cooperation between our two armies and countries develops successfully. He also pointed to the application of the agreements signed before and the concrete work of the joint commissions. Naturally, the NATO coordinating group will influence that Turkey, as member of NATO, further involve with the aid to Albania.

The leader of the Turkish delegation said that visiting Albania for four days they got closely acquainted with the state of the Albanian Army. He also declared that Turkey will try its best to provide the necessary emergency and long term aid. We are striving to afford a potential aid in the field of logistics. In the framework of NATO, he said, Turkish aid would be very significant. I believe this will open new paths between us and NATO.

Joint Agreement on German Soldiers Graves Approved

AU1002210493 Tirana ATA in English 0926 GMT 8 Feb 93

[Text] Tirana, February 8 (ATA)—A cemetery is going to be created in Albania for all the German soldiers killed here during 1914-18 and 1939-45. On the proposal of the Albanian Foreign Ministry, the Council of Ministers decided to endorse in principle the agreement between the Government of the Republic of Albania and the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany concerning the graves of German soldiers.

The agreement, the signing of which was proposed by the German party, expresses the desire of the two governments to finally arrange the cemetery of Albanian soldiers killed in Albania. It proposed to place the cemetery, if possible, in Tirana or in the vicinity of it. The German party will cover all the expenditure to gather, systemize the remains of the German soldiers in graves, etc. Volks Bund, the National League for Preserving the Graves of Germans Killed During the War, is charged with the fulfillment of the tasks deriving from this agreement.

The Germans have such cemeteries in many countries where the German Army waged fightings during the two world wars.

EC Envoys Explain Stand on Danube Embargo

AU1002211693 Sofia BTA in English 1934 GMT 10 Feb 93

[Text] Sofia, February 10 (BTA)—Bulgarian Deputy Foreign Minister Valentin Dobrev today received at their request Mr. Klaus Otto Kappel, ambassador of Denmark to Bulgaria; Mr. Leslie Buchanan, charge d'affaires of the United Kingdom; Mr. Edmond Robard, ambassador of Belgium; and Ambassador Thomas O'Sullivan, head of the delegation of the EC Commission in Sofia, the Foreign Ministry spokesperson said.

The Danish ambassador told Mr. Dobrev that at their meeting in Brussels on February 1, the EC foreign ministers decided to inform the authorities in Sofia, Bucharest and Kiev about their countries' position on the violations of the UN Security Council sanctions against Serbia and Montenegro by Serbian oil-carrying barges pushed up the Danube. The Danish ambassador set forth and presented in writing the position of the EC members.

The EC countries appreciate the Bulgarian Government's efforts to observe the UN sanctions, including the results achieved so far. The EC states understand the difficulties arising from the observance of the UN sanctions, including possible environmental impact in case the barges attempt to blow up or discharge their cargo. The EC admits that Bulgaria is not the principal cause of this problem but emphasizes that under UN Security Council Resolution 787 Bulgaria is explicitly obliged to take all legal measures, including such commensurate with the specific circumstances, to halt the river vessels. The EC countries are very active in the observance of the UN sanctions and are considering possible measures for practical and technical assistance. The twelve are ready to consider a proposal to assist Bulgaria in support of its efforts. They believe that the appointment of a sanctions coordinator by the CSCE committee of senior officials will be of help in this direction.

The foreign diplomats informed Deputy Foreign Minister Dobrev that the UK will grant Bulgaria 100,000 pounds sterling in aid for the observance of the UN sanctions. The EC Commission is willing to help Bulgaria in this respect, too.

During his session with the envoys of Denmark, the UK, Belgium, and the EC Commission, Mr. Dobrev reaffirmed Bulgaria's firm commitment to the strict observance of the UN Security Council resolutions and to cooperation with the EC countries for their effective implementation.

Yugoslav Embassy Confirms Airspace Violation

AU1002141493 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1400 GMT 10 Feb 93

[Text] In connection with the violation of Bulgarian airspace on 9 February near Strezimirovtsi village, Sofia Oblast, by two Serbian combat aircraft, Lyuben Petrov, chief of the Bulgarian Army General Staff, inquired at the Embassy of what is left of Yugoslavia about the event.

The military attache confirmed the violation of the Bulgarian airspace, but claimed that it had occurred because of limited visibility brought about by poor weather conditions. There was no malice, he said. The Bulgarian side will be promptly informed about the ensuing measures that have been adopted.

Berov, Kazakh Prime Minister Discuss Cooperation

AU1002142093 Sofia BTA in English 1330 GMT 10 Feb 93

[Report by Iva Toncheva: "Bulgaria, Kazakhstan Hold Talks on Cabinet Level"]

[Text] Sofia, February 10 (BTA)—The prime ministers of Bulgaria Lyuben Berov and of Kazakhstan Sergey Tereshchenko and officials of the ministries of foreign affairs, industry, trade, agriculture and of security services today held talks. Later today, Prime Minister Tereshchenko was received by Bulgarian President Zhelyu Zhelev. The Kazakh delegation led by Mr. Tereshchenko arrived here late last night.

President Zhelev expressed certainty that Bulgaria and Kazakhstan will sign a treaty on friendship and cooperation and a number of economic cooperation accords by late May. Mr Zhelev and Mr. Tereshchenko also discussed the opening of embassies of Kazakhstan in Bulgaria and of Bulgaria in Kazakhstan.

Bulgaria and Kazakhstan should work out a new legal framework to give an impetus to bilateral relations, Bulgarian Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs Lyuben Berov said at the talks. The sides should draft and sign specific accords on trade and economic cooperation, the avoidance of double taxation, reciprocal investment protection and cooperation in culture and transport to supplement the treaty on friendship, Mr. Berov said. Prime Minister Tereshchenko noted that Bulgaria is ahead of Kazakhstan in effecting political and economic reforms. The Kazakh delegation displayed interest in Bulgaria's achievements in curbing inflation, privatization and in the functioning of the private sector here, the Bulgarian cabinet's spokesman told reporters.

According to Prof. Berov, Bulgaria is planning to grant preferences to Kazakhstan in the power, material handling, foods and tourist industries. "We see Kazakhstan as an exporter of oil, iron, cotton, wool and processed fruit of an enormous potential," Mr. Berov said. According to him, Bulgaria and Kazakhstan can set up joint ventures in medical equipment and machine building, the light industry and gold mining and ease the payments regime. Bulgaria and Kazakhstan should grant each other a most favoured nation status, according to the Bulgarian side.

The sides also discussed opportunities to promote cooperation in combating narcotic drugs trafficking.

Transport Cooperation Discussed With Turkey

AU1002185093 Sofia BTA in English 1801 GMT 10 Feb 93

[Text] Sofia, February 10 (BTA)—Today the delegates to the 11th session of the joint Bulgarian-Turkish Committee on Transport began to draft an agreement on cooperation in transport. The delegations are headed by the transport ministers of the two countries, Mr. Neycho Neev and Mr. Yasar Topcu.

Addressing the participants at the opening of the session, Minister Neycho Neev presented the Bulgarian proposals concerning the protocol of agreement expected to be signed on Friday [12 February]. The Bulgarian Ministry of Transport wants the protocol to set out the measures which the sides would implement to attract more passengers via their territories. Bulgaria will propose a draft for a new intergovernmental agreement on the operation of the common railway station at Kapikule. Concerning road transport, the Bulgarian delegation will insist on tightening the control in licensing the operation of bus services and introducing new cargo and passenger tariffs.

During the three-day session the two sides will discuss the possibility for the operation of flights from Burgas and Varna to Istanbul. A package of measures to ensure the observance of the statutory rules for safe navigation in the two countries' territorial waters will probably be included in the protocol too.

Turkey's Minister of Transport and Communications Yasar Topcu wished that the participants discuss only matters directly related to the problems of transport.

Today Minister Topcu had a meeting with Mr. Stefan Sofiyanski, chairman of the Committee of Posts and Telecommunications. The two sides confirmed the agreements on joint participation in international projects reached in Istanbul and Ankara in December last year. In view of the complicated situation in the Balkans, they agreed to accelerate their joint work ensuring good quality of communication between the two countries.

New Visa Agreement With Turkey Discussed

AU1002211093 Sofia BTA in English 1821 GMT 10 Feb 93

[Text] Sofia, February 10 (BTA)—Delegations of Bulgaria and Turkey comprising representatives of different ministries and departments held negotiations in Sofia from February 8 through February 10, the spokeswoman for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ms. Veneta Momcheva, informed.

The delegations coordinated the text of a new intergovernmental visa agreement which is expected to be signed in Sofia by the end of February. The date will be specified through diplomatic channels.

Consultations were held on a number of consular problems related to the entry and stay of Bulgarian, respectively Turkish, citizens in the territory of the other country. Agreement was reached on the settlement of problems brought up by the two sides.

Staff Chief Receives Turkish Air Force Delegation

AU1002211993 Sofia BTA in English 1939 GMT 10 Feb 93

[Text] Sofia, February 10 (BTA)—A Turkish military delegation, led by the commander of the Turkish Air Force, Army General Halis Burhan, was received today by the chief of General Staff of the Bulgarian Army, Army General Lyuben Petrov, and Deputy Defence Minister Grigor Khandzhiev.

The visit is paid in compliance with the cooperation plan between the Bulgarian and Turkish defence ministries. The Turkish delegation today attended a working meeting of the Military Council of the Bulgarian Air Force and visited Air Force units.

Turks Ready To Join 'Volunteer Corps' in Bosnia

AU1002123393 Sofia BTA in English 1154 GMT 10 Feb

[Text] Shumen, February 10 (BTA)—Many young people, including college graduates, are ready to join a volunteer corps to fight in Bosnia, Adem Kenan, leader of the Turkish Democratic Party (not registered in court), who lives in the village of Yasenkovo near Shumen (northeastern Bulgaria), told reporters. The party members and sympathizers would like very much to fight on the side of Muslims in former Yugoslavia, but many lack the money to do it, according to Mr. Kenan.

Mr. Kenan met the press in connection with a declaration issued by the party leadership last Sunday [7 February], which expressed readiness to recruit volunteers to fight in Bosnia-Hercegovina. The document expressed alarm over the genocide of Muslims and a hope the world powers would intervene to end the war. It said the plan sponsored by Cyrus Vance and David Owen was detrimental to the interests of Muslims, victims of the Serb nationalism and its policy of ethnic-cleansing.

National Bank Blamed for 1992 Budget Problems

AU1002192893 Sofia BTA in English 1626 GMT 10 Feb 93

[Text] Sofia, February 10 (BTA)—Judging by estimates of the cash utilization of the 1992 national budget, the consolidated national budget showed a primary surplus and the cash deficit reached 95 percent of the statutory limit, writes former Finance Minister Ivan Kostov in today's DEMOKRATSIYA.

In the last of a series of articles on the achievements and legacy of the Filip Dimitrov government (which was in office between November 1991 and the end of 1992), Mr. Kostov writes that the government's borrowing from the central bank was 900 million leva short of the statutory ceiling, the issue of government securities exceeded the statutory limit by some 800 million leva, and the deficit of external financing was 1,342.7 million leva lower than the target figure.

The cash deficit of the central government budget was below the projected level. The 542 million leva excess deficit of the social security fund was covered by the central government budget. In the utilization of the local government budgets, expenditures exceeded revenues.

The problem of closing the 1992 national budget is unsettled because of problems with the central National Bank of Bulgaria, Mr. Kostov points out. The central bank made just 56 percent of the statutory payments to the exchequer. The central and all other banks have defaulted on 3,160 million leva owed to the exchequer. At the same time, however, the National Bank claimed from the exchequer interest which exceeded the projected level by 83 percent, even though the exchequer had paid 12 percent more to make up for the difference between the actual average lending rate of 50 percent and the 40 percent set in the law. The National Bank's financial performance was a disaster and attempts are made now to shift the blame to the Union of Democratic Forces government, Mr. Kostov writes. In his view, however, the central bank got into trouble because it arbitrarily wrote off the power engineering debt to the Economic Bank, bailed out insolvent commercial banks without a government or other sanction, made considerable losses in the foreign exchange market, and credited clearing operations with the CIS without the appropriate statutory mechanism.

According to Mr. Kostov, there is every reason to believe that 1992 was the first year in which the central and the local governments started to manage the public debt. In keeping with the 1992 National Budget Act, the government debt grew by a total of 13,782 million leva, of which 10,930 million leva were direct borrowing from the National Bank. Considerable efforts were made to develop the market of securities, treasury bills and government bonds, the issue of which totalled 13,615 million lev. The ex-finance minister singles out as an achievement the regular redemption of government securities, which helped win the confidence of the transactors in this market and minimize the price. Mr. Kostov points out that due to the cabinet crisis, the opportunity was missed to issue bonds for the transformation of 5,500 million leva debts owed by state-owned and cooperative companies into a public debt.

Under the agreement with the Paris Club, Bulgaria agreed to acknowledge as sovereign official debt 720 million dollars (equivalent to some 18,800 million leva) owed by the Bulgarian Foreign Trade Bank. Of these, 468 million dollars (or 12,200 million leva) have been already been acknowledged in fact after ratification by parliament.

No provision had been made in the budget for a resumption of payments of 20 percent of the current interest on Bulgaria's commercial foreign debt. That is why the budget had to be updated with a modest increase of the deficit and the public debt within the limits agreed with the International Monetary Fund, Mr. Kostov writes.

Further on in his article, he identifies the drafting and introduction before parliament of the tax law package as one of the reasons for the ouster of the SDS government. The forces interested in financial destabilization and lawlessness in the country have managed to take the upper hand for the time being, the former finance minister believes.

Bank Rejects Allegations

AU1102075493 Sofia BTA in English 1922 GMT 10 Feb 93

[Text] Sofia, February 10 (BTA)—The governing board of the National Bank of Bulgaria (BNB) today dismissed recent allegations by former Finance Minister Ivan Kostov, according to which the central bank's management is trying to shift the responsibility for certain actions to the former cabinet of the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS).

In a February 3 TV programme devoted to the resignation of National Bank Governor Todor Vulchev and in a series of articles contributed to the SDS daily DEMOKRATSIYA, Mr. Ivan Kostov, MP [member of parliament] of the SDS and former minister of finance, claimed that attempts were made to overstate the budget deficit and accused the central bank of arbitrary actions: a write-off of the power engineering debt, bailing out of insolvent banks (in Yambol and Bobovdol), making considerable losses in the currency market, and crediting clearing operations with the CIS without an appropriate mechanism.

BNB Vice Governor Mileti Mladenov said the central bank was set up as an autonomous institution and the idea of that autonomy was to guard the government from a temptation to meddle in the currency issue in order to finance its spending. When the central bank is independent, it can assume the obligation of implementing an unpopular policy unacceptable to one government or another, he said.

In connection with the unsettled financial relations between the BNB and the exchequer with respect to the 1992 national budget, the governing board believes that the legal framework gives grounds to project certain revenues from the BNB but does not create a legal obligation for the bank to pay exactly this amount irrespective of its actual financial performance. On the other hand, the government's liabilities to the bank are claimable on the strength of bank lending contracts made between the Finance Ministry and the National Bank, the bank's management says.

The governing board believes that if the BNB set the interest rates on its operations solely reckoning with the projections underlying the budget programme, this would be tantamount to turning back to the principles of the centrally planned economy and to an abridgement of the BNB functions in the shaping and implementation of monetary policy.

The BNB management believe that the takeover of the non-performing loans of power engineering could only have a positive economic effect in 1993 because it relieves the financial expenditures of this strategic sector, which is not subject to liquidation.

The central bank is obliged to take care of the stability of the financial system, the National Bank's governing board believes. The insolvency even of isolated banks expose to a grave risk the entire banking system, the country's economy and the depositors' assets. That is why the bankers argue that the treatment which the central bank extended to insolvent banks was in full compliance with the National Bank of Bulgaria Act.

As to the foreign exchange transactions, the bank's management believes that the idea of these operations is to stabilize the country's financial system rather than maximize contributions to the exchequer. The BNB's foreign exchange operations in 1992 produced a positive financial result.

The central bank has not given up the receivables from Russia but believes that they will be effected after the Bulgarian and Russian Governments reach agreement on this.

Referring to the conflict which certain media represent as an inter-personal rift between the BNB chief Prof. Todor Vulchev and the former Finance Minister Ivan Kostov, Vice Governor of the National Bank Mileti Mladenov stressed that it was a matter of relations between state institutions in charge of the economic reform rather than of relations between individuals. In his view, the conflict between the central bank and the Finance Ministry is trivial and such differences are common in democracies with a market economy. Mr. Kostov shares this view.

The stand which was made public today was taken by the governing board at an extraordinary meeting on Monday [8 February]. BNB Governor Prof. Todor Vulchev, who is now on leave, was informed of the stand and expressed his consent in writing.

Defense Minister Meets Podkrepa Leadership

AU1102122693 Sofia BULGARSKA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 5 Feb 93 p 1

[Report by Major Valeri Nikolaev: "Defense Minister Meets Podkrepa Labor Confederation Leadership"]

[Text] Following his previously announced program on complete transparency in the Armed Forces and a dialogue with the political forces and public organizations, on 4 February Defense Minister Valentin Aleksandrov received representatives of the leadership of the Podkrepa Labor Confederation led by Vice President Oleg Chulev. The talk focused on concluding a new collective labor contract, issues of vacations, wages, and mutual relations between employers and employees. Minister Aleksandrov pointed out that cutting the connection between the political parties and the Army is a basic factor in the decommunization of the Armed Forces. On the other hand, the strategic line of maintaining reliable civil control over the Defense Ministry includes close contacts with the trade unions. He pointed out that the difficulties of the military industry enterprises are a result of an unclear normative foundation. It is necessary to clarify their status. For this purpose a special document will be prepared by the end of March 1993. Many of the military employees' social problems will be resolved if work on adopting a law on state employees is intensified. On the basis of trade unions' reports the minister has issued an instruction to conduct a comprehensive audit at the Ministry of Defense (no such audit has taken place since 1946). For this purpose inspectors of the Finance Ministry will be invited.

Oleg Chulev expressed satisfaction with the renewed dialogue and assured the leadership of the Ministry of Defense that the Podkrepa Labor Confederation has no ambitions of interfering in the Army outside the sphere of its trade union activity. "We are glad that we do not live during the period of maximum demands, and we will not facilitate an inflation explosion," he noted.

Grigor Khandzhiev, deputy minister of defense, took part in the meeting.

Electronic Gates Installed Along Border

AU1002134493 Prague CTK in English 2013 GMT 7 Feb 93

[Text] Prague Feb 7 (CTK)—Ten new electronic gates will be installed at five border crossings between the Czech and Slovak Republics, CTK learned today.

The electronically controlled gates are to be installed at the border crossings in Mosty u Jablunkova, Bumbalka, Velke Karlovice, Strelna, and Broumov. Each crossing will have two gates, one for vehicles entering the republic and the other for vehicles leaving. Installation of the gates is expected to begin as early as next week, as long as the ground is not too frozen to prevent digging.

Border Region Club Opposes Germanization of Area

AU1002191593 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 8 Feb 93 p 2

[CTK report: "The Czech Border Region Club Is Worried About Germanization"]

[Text] Usti nad Labem—The Czech Border Region Club (KCP) General Assembly today committed its supporters to actively opposing the Germanization of the border region.

Delegates from Liberec, Decin, Usti nad Labem, Teplice, Most, Chomutov, and other communities called on the government to protest to the German Government about the written demands from the Sudeten Germans for the restitution of their property in the Czech border region. The participants in the KCP General Assembly also appealed to the state administration in border districts not to acquiesce to Germanization of the border region via the Euroregions. The delegates categorically objected to the establishment of the Democratic Party-Sudetenland. Local representatives of the Civic Democratic Alliance, the Assembly For the Republic-Republican Party of Czechoslovakia, and the Christian Democratic Union-Czechoslovak People's Party were present at the KCP General Assembly meeting.

Impact of Asylum Law on FRG-Czech Ties Viewed

AU1002100293 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 8 Feb 93 p 2

[Commentary by Jaroslav Hoefer: "Will the Refugees Jeopardize Relations With the FRG?"]

[Text] Imagine tens of thousands of refugees who do not want to return home, and whom neither Germany nor neighboring states will accept, eking out a meager living on the border between Germany and its eastern neighbors under the glare of television lights.

This horrifying vision—reminiscent of the situation facing the Palestinian deportees on the border between Israel and Lebanon—could become reality if Bonn and its neighbors were to bring to a head the issue of refugees in Germany. Because of the costs associated with the country's reunification and global economic problems, it can no longer afford to look after the hundreds of thousands of refugees who take advantage of its liberal laws. It has to resolve the situation, otherwise there could be a danger of grave domestic problems.

Of course, the neighboring countries are economically no better off, and so negotiations between them and Bonn cannot be easy. This was ultimately the case during the talks between the FRG and Czech interior ministers. As the Germans want to get rid of illegal refugees, then there is nothing more natural than their wanting to return them to the place from where they illegally crossed the border into Germany. On the other hand, the problems caused for the Czech Republic, Austria, and Poland by this wave of refugees would be far from as serious if Bonn had put its house in order—in this regard—earlier.

If the German Government were to begin transferring undesirable refugees to its neighbors in June, it would cause major problems. Fortunately, during [German Foreign Minister] Klaus Kinkel's visit [to Prague] on Friday [5 February], the two sides agreed that the refugee problem should not destabilize either Germany or its neighbors. However, the issue has not been resolved. More can—perhaps—be expected in this regard from the multilateral talks involving all the interested parties and following the receipt of guarantees that the refugees will be able to return to their homelands. Nevertheless, it is important that the Social Democratic Party balances agreement with the new asylum law with ensuring that neighboring countries are also able to prepare themselves for it. Adopting more stringent visa requirements on the Czech side would also ease the situation, both for us and for the Germans.

Klaus Convenes Meeting To Discuss Romany Issue

AU1002135193 Prague CTK in English 2140 GMT 8 Feb 93

[Text] Prague, Feb 8 (CTK)—The government must declare its aversion to the activities of skinheads and their relatively mild punishment, Czech Premier Vaclav Klaus said today. He was speaking after his extraordinary meeting with part of his cabinet which was devoted to the problems of Romanies and the demands presented Friday [5 February] by representatives of the Romany Democratic Congress.

Klaus characterised some of those demands as realistic, for instance the one calling for consistent observance of the ban on fascist and racist groups. But he said the cabinet is not inclined to meeting the demands concerning changes in the law on state citizenship.

A majority of the about 800,000 Romanies estimated to live on the territory of the former Czechoslovakia come from Slovakia. As they often move between the two republics, they would like to have both Czech and Slovak citizenship. However, in connection with the split of the Czechoslovak Federation at the end of 1992, the Czech Republic introduced the system of one citizenship only.

Klaus' meeting with Deputy Premier Jan Kalvoda, Justice Minister Jiri Novak, Labour and Social Affairs Minister Jindrich Vodicka, General Prosecutor Jiri Setina and Deputy Interior Minister Martin Fendrych follows his talks Friday with members of the Romany Petition Committee for the Protection of the Rights of Ethnic Minorities. In their petition they demanded the observance of the outlawing of fascist and racist groups.

Calling the ever more frequent actions of skinheads very dangerous, Klaus said that these activities attack the very essence of the Czech Republic and its legal order, and condemned all expressions of national and racial intolerance.

He said that the current transformation of the economy and society affects Romanies more than other groups of the population, and added that the government is seeking both short-term and long-term solutions.

The conclusions from today's meeting, which will be discussed by the cabinet Wednesday [10 February], will be addressed more to regional bodies than to the cabinet, Klaus said, adding that the chairmen of local councils will have to set priorities in solving problems concerning Romanies.

He called the controversial Jirkov decree invalid and said it cannot and must not be applied. He who applies it breaks the legal order of the Czech Republic and the respective ministers should draw conclusions from this, Klaus said.

The decree, passed by the North Bohemian town of Jirkov on November 3, ordered fines of up to 100,000 crowns (about $3,500) for actions endangering the morals, health and security of others, immediate eviction without judicial approval, and other penalties. Adopted in an effort to curb growing crime rate in regions troubled by excessive migration, mostly of Romanies, the decree was seen by many of its critics as discriminating some groups of the population.

Slovak Defense Ministry Official Arrives in Prague

LD1002155393 Prague CTK in English 1512 GMT 10 Feb 93

[Text] Prague, Feb 10 (CTK)—Ivan Urban, Slovak Defence Ministry state secretary arrived today in the Czech capital of Prague for the first official visit after Czechoslovakia's split on January 1, 1993.

The Czech Defence Ministry announced that Urban will meet with Czech Defence Minister Antonin Baudys to discuss the fulfilment of the agreements concluded between the two ministries.

Urban is former Czechoslovak deputy defence minister in charge of social and humanitarian affairs. Since the post of Slovak defence minister has not been filled yet, Urban is the Slovak Defence Ministry's top representative.

Dlouhy Discusses Views Republic's Power Industry

AU1002135093 Prague CTK in English 2042 GMT 8 Feb 93

[Text] Prague, Feb 8 (CTK)—The government is not standing in the way of a break-up of CEZ—the Czech power utilities—on the contrary it is now discussing the separation of the distribution network from producing facilities, Czech Industry and Trade Minister Vladimir Dlouhy told journalists in Most today.

Speaking after a meeting with North Bohemian municipal and trade union officials, Dlouhy said that it was too early in the current market conditions to introduce a fair competition environment among several independent power producers. Other factors preventing the implementation of the North Bohemian Power Industry Trade Unions' privatisation project was a lack of legislation and of necessary investments, according to Dlouhy.

The minister said that he believed the completion of the Temelin nuclear power plant in South Bohemia was urgently needed. First of all to make up for the projected 12-percent rise in Czech consumption by 2013 and second, to replace much power production from North Bohemian plants using locally mined, inefficient and air-polluting brown coal. Dlouhy added that the Czech Government has already decided to continue reducing power production in North Bohemia.

Some North Bohemian power plant officials believe that future profits may enable them to acquire and install antipollution equipment and thus keep their plants in operation. Dlouhy said he would like to hear more about this project and was willing to consider it strongly. If I concur with it then I could even advocate it, he added.

However, Dlouhy also advised the officials that North Bohemia must reconcile itself with eventual departure of coal production and as well as its power plants.

A Czech legislator told CTK later that a special parliamentary commission has been formed at the end of last month to deal with the energy problems of North Bohemia.

Knazko Rejects Meciar's Foreign Ministry Criticism

AU1002125493 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 8 Feb 93 p 1

[Report on interview with Milan Knazko, foreign minister and deputy prime minister, by Ivan Horsky in Bratislava on 7 February: "Diplomacy Opens Doors for Trade"]

[Text] Bratislava—After the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] Presidium session on 6 February, the head of the movement and the government, Vladimir Meciar, described the work of his deputy, who is also foreign minister, as the poorest in his entire cabinet. Despite their "nonaggression pact," he requested publicly that Milan Knazko voluntarily resign. The accused categorically refused to leave his post, and rejected the prime minister's criticism of his ministry. Therefore, I asked Knazko to comment on the entire affair.

Asked why the government in its last session canceled his trip to Brussels, Knazko replied: "The prime minister described it as purely commercial in nature. Well, I am not so certain.... Just one look at the itinerary will convince you otherwise.

"I would say that talks with Commissioner Van den Broek and EC Commission Chairman Delors, or a meeting with the representatives of the NATO political leadership can hardly be described as commercial endeavors. The accusation that I have not discussed the itinerary with the ministers of the economy and justice cannot be substantiated either. The reception by Mr. Whatelet is a matter of protocol, for he also is a deputy prime minister, and it is just a coincidence that he also is the justice minister."

The idea is generally accepted, however, that one of the most important tasks of diplomacy is to create and open new opportunities for economic cooperation and trade. "What am I to supposed to say to that," Knazko remarked with a bitter note in his voice. "After all, the fact that on my trip to Brussels I was to be accompanied by the head of the Slovak Chamber of Commerce, P. Mihok, cannot be considered proof of the commercial nature of the trip. I believe that it is a task of every cabinet member to open the doors to Slovakia to the world."

I asked Knazko whether the government decision not to approve the trip to Brussels might be linked to its not recommending the prime minister's trip to Moscow planned for last week. "We had nothing to do with the organization of that trip. As far as I know, I. Lexa, head of the Government Office, dealt with it because the invitation was addressed directly to the Office of the Prime Minister. We only learned that something was being prepared."

The last question concerns the recommendation by the prime minister that you resign voluntarily, as you were unable to cope with your work. "As I said on the evening of 6 February, I will not leave voluntarily. On the other hand, I believe that changes in several cabinet posts are badly needed." When I asked for specific names, Knazko was diplomatically silent.

SNS Support for Kovac Hinges on Andrejcak Withdrawal

AU1002134193 Prague CTK in English 1832 GMT 8 Feb 93

[Text] Bratislava Feb 8 (CTK)—Imrich Andrejcak, former Czechoslovak minister of defence, is the most suitable candidate for Slovak defence minister, Igor Urban, state secretary in the Slovak Ministry of Defence, told journalists today. He said that Andrejcak is a man of deep knowledge and that hardly anybody is as thoroughly acquainted with army problems as he is.

I happen to have read a lot about Andrejcak's qualities in the press, but no paper even mentioned that he had harmed the interests of either Slovakia or Slovakia's Army, currently being formed, as the federal defence minister, Urban said. The government coalition Slovak National Party (SNS) is resolutely opposed to Andrejcak as Slovak defence minister, on the grounds that until 1989 he was a staunch and active executor of the former Czechoslovak Communist Party policy and a supporter of the former Czechoslovakia's everlasting union with the former Soviet Union.

The SNS said it would support the Movement For a Democratic Slovakia's (HZDS) official presidential candidate Michal Kovac, former chairman of the now defunct Czechoslovak parliament, on condition Andrejcak was not Slovak defence minister. Colonel Juraj Roman, chief of logistics at the Slovak Defence Ministry, told journalists that the first stage of destruction of military equipment under the Vienna Convention would be completed by November 1993. He said the current dismantling of the military equipment is being carried out in conjunction with the Czech Republic, but that in the future the two republics would operate separate arms reduction programmes.

Roman said that apart from dismantling, sale and conversion of arms is being considered, as well as its use for scientific and museum purposes. He, however, said he had no information on where and to what countries the arms will be sold. Urban commented that a contract on the sale of two thousand tanks had been ready two years ago but had never been realised. He said it was premature to speak of searching for new markets, but felt that trade in weapons was very profitable. Given the fact that dismantling one tank costs 100,000 crowns ($3,333), if we sell a tank for merely 100,000 crowns, we will bring 200,000 crowns ($6,666) to the state cashier, he said.

17 Percent Drop In Output Recorded In 1992

LD1002232793 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1100 GMT 10 Feb 93

[Text] [Announcer Michal Tvarozek] Figures, percentages, and more figures. What else could a news conference by the Slovak Statistical Office be about? But since on this occasion these figures concerned the overall development of the Slovak Republic's economy over the past year, I think that will not be uninteresting for you. My colleague Magda Pospisilova is already in the studio and so, what are things like?

[Pospisilova] I do not wish to sound pessimistic, but I guess there is regrettably no economic sphere where we could be happy with attained results. Let's start with production. Last year's results were not good. All production branches recorded a drop. It amounted to almost 17 percent. A certain change for the better—and I should point out that was not in growth but in halting the decline—was recorded by the processing industry and by machines and tools output. Last year was not successful in agriculture either. All yields per hectare were lower in comparison with the previous period.

[Tvarozek] What is the situation like in other spheres, such as in the construction industry or forestry?

[Pospisilova] Compared with 1991, it was only the construction industry whose output that grew. Its volume increased by 10 percent. But if we take previous years into consideration, then there is not much reason for joy either. The only optimistic figure is the one expressing the proportion of the private sector in the construction industry, where private firms' proportion amounts to 32 percent.

[Tvarozek] What progress has been made by small and big privatization?

[Pospisilova] Small privatization is nearing its completion. More than 62 percent of organizations have already been privatized in Slovakia. Some 330 projects worth 10 million korunas [K] were approved in the big privatization last year. Assets worth K48 million passed to private hands through public auctions. Apart from this 96 charge-free transactions to communities and seven restitutions were carried out.

What is also interesting is that in big privatization investors from the Czech Republic bought 1,780,000 shares in Slovakia. In small privatization foreigners obtained 10 production units worth K140 million.

[Tvarozek] And so, the claim that foreign capital is buying us out has not been proven. But what are the other indicators, those on unemployment and wages development?

[Pospisilova] Unfortunately, unemployment started to grow again in December. Although the recorded unemployment is 10.4 percent, the real unemployment is estimated to be as much as 13-14 percent. An interesting paradox is surfacing in the wages development. Despite the drop in production and the drop in unemployment, wages grew in all industrial spheres by more than 16 percent over the last year.

[Tvarozek] The cost of living is also of interest in this connection.

[Pospisilova] Statistics have unequivocally proven that it has grown by 10 percent. This should be a signal for the government to start adjusting social benefits. Just as a matter of interest: compared with 1989, the cost of living has grown by 91 percent in our country.

[Tvarozek] Are statisticians taking into their consideration the degree to which problems related to state formation affected the development you have outlined?

[Pospisilova] Of course, (?one can only add a few ideas), but it can be deducted for example from the influx of foreign capital, which has dropped since the second quarter of the last year. By the end of the year it amounted to K6.6 billion. I have with me a list of representation of major foreign firms in Slovakia. The list is topped by the U.S.-Canadian company K-Mart. May those who know this company's departmental stores in the United States judge for themselves whether we have scored a major victory here. On the second place is Volkswagen. The list of [foreign] countries is topped by Austria, followed by Germany, United States, and the Netherlands.

[Tvarozek] The development of trade between the Czech and Slovak Republic has been very topical over last few days or even hours. Have statisticians produced any new facts?

[Pospisilova] There were no specific figures. I cannot confirm various figures quoting some 20-30 percent drop either. But as the Statistical Office chairman Rudolf Krc emphasized, a very unpleasant situation is developing. Unilateral steps of the Czech Republic are making it impossible to monitor the development of trade and if our government fails to take some measures in the nearest future, Slovakia will be unable to compile its payments and trade balance. The Slovak Republic has so far been fulfilling the bilateral agreements, specifically the Customs Union Agreement. However, it is supposedly impossible to say that the Czech side is doing the same. Equally, one can no longer say today how many of the concluded agreements on further cooperation between Czech and Slovak Republics are still valid.

Armaments Industry Trade Subject To Licensing

LD1002213793 Bratislava STV 2 Television Network in Slovak 1605 GMT 10 Feb 93

[Text] The division of the Federation into two independent states has turned the conditions governing the granting of official licenses to import and export goods and services into a topical issue. The license granting process is governed by the old guideline of the Federal

Ministry of Foreign Trade which was adopted by the Czech Legal Code in the Reception Law context. Before the end of the [1992] year both sides agreed on new conditions governing the license granting process.

[Unidentified correspondent] As far as the post-new year licensing system itself is concerned then it has been agreed that, within independent republics linked by the Customs Union, neither the Czech nor the Slovak sides will require that licensing procedure should apply to goods included in the initial guideline of the Federal Ministry of Foreign Trade. However, there is an exception concerning military material, or in other words arms, ammunition, and explosives.

[First unidentified speaker] Because of the high sensitivity of these items, both republics agreed to license these items themselves regardless of the Customs Union Agreement. The licensing system also includes another group of items, which are goods monitored under the CoCom system.

[Correspondent] Has there been any fundamental change in the license granting regulations in the sphere of military materials after the coming into being of the independent Czech Republic?

[Speaker] Yes, there has been a change because of law No. 121, which was approved in 1993. According to this law the Czech Ministry of Foreign Affairs issues its consent with exports and imports of military material. This did not exist before, until now this issue was dealt with only by a government's directive. This means that apart from the Ministry of Industry and Trade, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs is also involved in the licensing process, and its consent is binding for us.

[Correspondent] Is there currently any institution which could be regarded as a licensing administration??

[Second unidentified speaker, in Czech] Licenses are currently being issued at the Ministry of Industry and Trade by a licensing section, which was transferred there because the Federal Ministry of Foreign Trade and later the Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs were abolished.

[Second correspondent] It is envisaged that a licensing administration will be set up in the near future. This administration should be affiliated to the Czech Republic Ministry of Industry and Trade.

[Speaking to first speaker] What attitude will the Czech Republic adopt toward the trading instances when Czech firms are taking part in exports of Slovak arms to third countries?

[First speaker] Should such an instance occur, we shall require that they are licensed, that (?they are licensed) by the Czech Republic, because they [firms] will be entering the process of trading with a foreign state. I think that it will be they who will be the bearers of Czech Republic's name. And the Czech Republic's consent for these firms to sell arms to the areas acceptable to the Czech Republic will be required.

[Second correspondent] The issue of arms exports and production was a sensitive issue, in particular after November 1989. The implementation of the conversion of armament production started in that period, too. But this phenomenon has different connotations for Czechoslovakia and for the Czech Republic. The point is that armament production in the Czech Republic is oriented at making hand arms, training jet aircraft or electronic systems, or areas regarded as prospective. Certain backing by the state is required to promote them on the international market, and it is precisely this issue where the state is behaving rather inconsistently. But the token of lasting prestige for our armaments production is the interest of foreign firms. According to our information, some French companies have focused their attention on Skoda Plzen of late. It is said that their target is precisely the armaments production.

Foreign Affairs Secretary on Ties With Slovakia

AU1002194793 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 8 Feb 93 p 3

["Excerpts" from interview with Ivan Baba, deputy state secretary at the Foreign Ministry, by UJ SZO correspondent Istvan Malinak on 5 February in Bratislava: "We Must Not Subordinate Our Relations to Bos"]

[Text] On 5 February Ivan Baba held talks in Bratislava and gave an interview on Hungarian-Slovak relations and other issues to Istvan Malinak, correspondent of the Bratislava newspaper UJ SZO. Here are excerpts from the interview that is to be published on 8 February in the Bratislava newspaper.

[Malinak] You usually make fairly optimistic statements on Hungarian-Slovak relations, including the news conference that followed your talks, even when others feel that the situation is very bad. What is the basis for this?

[Baba] The situation is not simple, but it is ambivalent. It is the exaggeration of the situation that distorts things. We have a problematic area in our relations which could be resolved if treated rationally. This is the Bos issue. I know that there is a cement lobby in Slovakia [reference to construction of hydroelectric plant in Bos] which tries to subordinate Slovak- Hungarian relations to its own technical interests. There are other Slovak political circles, however, that are also aware that this is only an element of bilateral relations and that we must not subsume everything to this. On the other hand, I am convinced that we will arrive at a rational solution on the national minority issue and that both the legislation and the Slovak Government will recognize that the Hungarians living here do not present a danger for Slovakia if the national minority issue is treated normally. Once we get past these two areas, there are no other conflict elements in bilateral relations which would prevent us from maintaining good relations.

[Malinak] My impression is that not all Hungarian foreign affairs officials hold the same views on Slovak-Hungarian relations. I imagine you see things somewhat differently because you come from Slovakia.

[Baba] Various periods and conflict areas exist and people who are involved in the given issue are much more annoyed when these are not resolved. I can imagine that because of the Bos issue, State Secretary Janos Martonyi is not very optimistic about bilateral relations now because he should resolve this issue and it is difficult to make any progress. This kind of situation obviously influences people's moods and statements.

[Malinak] When the leader of the negotiating delegation was replaced by Budapest, in Bratislava a number of people thought that Hungarian foreign policy wanted to take a harder course.

[Baba] I do not agree with this term, it is not a matter of being hard or soft. We have a very complicated situation that has a legal aspect in which the Hungarian stand is clear, namely we have to turn to The Hague Court because we cannot agree between ourselves. A financial aspect also exists, and if we cannot resolve this bilaterally then we might have to turn to a third party again. There are also practical, ecological, technical, shipping, and other aspects which have to be settled by experts—various kinds of experts. I cannot accept that only the cement lobby appears as experts and the experts of other areas cannot have a say.

[Malinak] Is Hungary disappointed with the West because it had expected bigger support in the Bos issue?

[Baba] We were told in which areas they are willing to support us in relation to the Bos issue. For example, the EC, in its cautious way, gives as much support as the Western countries do together—not much more, though. The EC wants the issue to be handled as rationally as possible by both sides. The idea that the sides should try to remove their emotions from the negotiations is a very important element of Western negotiating philosophy, because this is the only chance for achieving an agreement. The whole Western integration is based on an endless series of continuous compromises.

Serbian Trucks Blockade Border Station

LD1102105193 Budapest MTI in English 0950 GMT 11 Feb 93

[Text] Budapest, February 11 (MTI)—Traffic has been suspended at Tompa on the Hungarian-Serbian border because Bosnian and Macedonian trucks blocked the access road on the Serbian side on Wednesday evening, Hungarian border guard spokesman Attila Krisan told MTI on Thursday [11 February] morning.

Colonel Krisan said eight to ten trucks were standing crosswise the road and further 50 to 60 hindering traffic otherwise. The drivers claim that the Hungarian customs authorities are excessively strict in observing the UN embargo. At present, the border station is only open for pedestrians and cyclists. Vehicles can cross the border at Roszke or Hercegszanto.

Coalition Parties Reject Idea of Fusion

AU1002123093 Budapest MTI in English 1051 GMT 9 Feb 93

[Text] Budapest, 9 Feb (MTI)—Interviewed by the press, representatives of the Hungarian coalition parties firmly rejected the idea of fusion, introduced by a Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF] MP at a press briefing on Monday [8 February].

Responding to the proposal by Bela Horvath, MDF parliament group leader Imre Konya told the daily NEPSZABADSAG, it was groundless and politically wrong.

"There is no reason to break up present party structures," Konya said.

Senior officials of the Independent Smallholders' Party and the Christian Democratic People's Party, the two other parties forming the ruling coalition, also rejected the idea as unrealistic and inconceivable.

In Horvath's view, considering the development of Hungarian democracy over the past 100 years, and processes in Western European democracies after World War II, Hungary's present coalition parties should fuse. Horvath declined to say exactly when he thought the fusion would take place, but did not rule out the possibility of the move before the 1994 general elections.

Horvath, however, said the idea was his own, and warned of misinterpreting it as a proposal to form a one-party system.

"The idea of fusing coalition parties serves the sole purpose of giving a more marked manifestation to the national-Christian centre, and has nothing to do with a national front," Horvath said.

He said that, by now three large political groups had formed in Hungary, with coalition parties representing the national-Christian centre-right. Two others make up the left and the liberal groups, he added.

Commenting on Horvath's idea in the daily MAGYAR NEMZET, MDF parliament group presidium member Laszlo Salamon said every party had its own image even if there were similarities between them in values.

"I have not felt in coalition parties the demand voiced by Bela Horvath, and I think all parties want to preserve their own structure," Salamon said.

Also in MAGYAR NEMZET, a senior official of the Independent Smallholders' Party 36-member parliamentary group, Bela Nemeth, said he saw the fusion of the three parties impossible since none of them wanted to give up their own image.

"We can imagine an election coalition, but this would need thorough coordination and agreement," he said.

Christian Democratic People's Party parliament group leader Bela Csepe told MTI he thought it was impossible to realize Horvath's proposal before the 1994 elections. He, however, said the three parties were standing on a common ideological base and they were linked by a lot of things.

"A possible fusion would create a large collective party, which, in my opinion, is not a useful direction in Hungary today," he added.

Democratic Forum Official Views Presidium Meeting

AU1002191193 Budapest PESTI HIRLAP in Hungarian 8 Feb 93 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Agoston Szekelyhidi, chairman of the Executive Board of the presidium of the Hungarian Democratic Forum (MDF), by Istvan Joo; place and date not given: "They Will Fight Against the Extreme Right"]

[Text] The national presidium of the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF] will formulate the election rules as early as the last third of this month, and this will complete the renewal process that began with the sixth national MDF meeting.

At the meeting of the MDF national presidium, which MDF chairman and Prime Minister Jozsef Antall could not attend because he was suffering from the flu, representatives of 19 counties and Budapest also discussed how to implement the decisions of the national meeting held two weeks ago. They agreed to appoint an expert panel to work out the schedule and supervise implementation. Another important event during this meeting was that the national presidium declared that it agreed with the spirit of the bill on the rights of national and ethnic minorities, and it approved and supported the negotiating efforts of the MDF deputies participating in the six-party coordination meetings. It also was said at the presidium meeting that the MDF must fight against the attacks of the extreme right, but this is a task for every Hungarian citizen.

After the conclusion of this closed meeting, MAGYAR HIRLAP asked Agoston Szekelyhidi for an interview.

[Joo] In its current composition, the presidium will dissolve as early as at the end of February. How has this body carried out its activities over the past two years?

[Szekelyhidi] Although we are speaking here about this party's leadership body between the national meetings, I must say that the presidium has not been very successful in fulfilling this major task. So far, there have been no channels that could have facilitated the coordination between the decisions made here, the parliamentary faction, and the national presidium. This mostly led to "parallel activity" rather than cooperation. This is why we proposed a new format at the national meeting. According to this, after 23 February, in addition to the counties and Budapest representatives, the national presidium and 10 members of the parliamentary faction will also be members of the national board. Thus, the decisions will be made together and the responsibility also will be mutual. Coordination will gain ground at long last, because lack of such coordination reduced the vigor of the MDF before the sixth national meeting.

[Joo] The MDF seems to be either discordant or ready for compromise recently. Which "face" of the party did the recent meeting reflect?

[Szekelyhidi] The latter. I can tell you about a new type of unity, one of a clear formulation of political wills, rather than one of some kind of mendacious uniformity. Considerable self-criticism was also evident during the creation of this unity. Most probably this is the reason why the members of the national presidium and the national board—like Istvan Csurka, Peter Boross, Geza Jeszenszky, Imre Konya, and Gyula Fekete—forgot about their previous distrust here and argued with each other in a spirit of mutual respect.

[Joo] There is also a fear of "external" salami tactics among the members and followers of the party....

[Szekelyhidi] The MDF is a collective and people's party, and not an ideological, program, or strata party. This means that from the outset, it has been carrying several interests and different values. Indeed, we are often urged to slice ourselves up and distance ourselves from each other. Who could tell, however, what should not be part of the variety of the MDF? No one should be left out, unless one deviates from the basic framework and statute of the MDF.

Minister Releases 1992 Foreign Trade Figures

LD1002144893 Budapest MTI in English 1404 GMT 10 Feb 93

[Text] Budapest, February 10 (MTI-ECONEWS)—Bela Kadar, Hungary's international economic relations minister, released foreign trade figures for 1992 to the press on Wednesday [10 February].

Hungary's exports exceeded USD [U.S. dollars] 10.7bn [billion] last year, 7.4 pc [percent] over 1991. In volume terms, exports rose only 5-6 pc, following a downward trend of the last few years.

Preliminary figures show imports of USD 11.006bn last year, about the same as in 1991. However, in volume terms imports decreased by approximately 3 pc.

Hungary had a trade deficit of USD 356m [million] last year, based on customs statistics. But taking into account imports with no payment obligations, the trade balance showed a surplus of USD 91m, the minister added.

The process of market reorientation was completed by the end of 1992, Kadar stressed. Between 1989 and 1992 Hungary's rouble [rbl] accounted exports dropped by rbl 7.5bn, but this was more than offset by a USD 4.5bn increase in convertible currency exports during the same period.

Hungary conducted half of its foreign trade last year with the EC countries. Exports to the EC grew by 14.5 pc last year, more than twice the overall growth rate. Exports to the EFTA [European Free Trade Association] countries grew by 3 pc, and to the USA, by 6 pc.

Trade with East European countries grew last year, reversing a recent trend. The ex-COMECON countries accounted for 23 pc of Hungary's's foreign trade. Exports to the former Soviet republics grew by 14 pc last year, while imports from that region fell by 40 pc.

The rate of growth in exports slowed during the course of last year. Exports in the first half of the year were 16 pc greater than in the same period of 1991. The rate dropped to 12 pc in the third quarter and to 7 pc by year's end.

The increase of imports at the end of last year can be considered partly as a normal phenomenon, the minister said. He pointed out, however, that foreign exchange policy makes imported goods more competitive, and that imports must make up the shortfall in production from bankrupt and liquidated companies.

Imports of capital goods are declining, which indicates that the growth in imports was not the result of an economic recovery, the minister said.

The Central European free trade agreement will probably take effect in three weeks and will boost Hungary's exports to the Polish, Czech and Slovak markets, Kadar said. Half of Hungary's exports to that region will be free of customs duties and non-tariff barriers. Currently these countries account for only 4 pc of Hungary's exports.

A free-trade agreement with the EFTA countries is expected to come into force by the middle of the year, provided Hungary can reach an agreement with Austria on outstanding matters. The agreement will affect 15 pc of Hungary's exports

The minister said the domestic climate is downright hostile from a foreign trade perspective. He pointed out that the volume of industrial investments fell by 30 pc between 1989 and 1991, and by 5 pc in 1992. Research and development expenditures also fell by 5 pc last year. The growth of loans to the business sector lagged behind the inflation rate.

The minister stressed that the profitability of exports has dropped to a quarter of the 1989 level and that the forint has relatively revalued by 21-25 pc over the last three years.

Skubiszewski, Saxony's Biedenkopf Agree on Asylum

AU0902114193 Cologne Deutschlandfunk Network in German 1000 GMT 9 Feb 93

[Text] According to DRESDNER MORGENPOST, Saxony Minister President Kurt Biedenkopf suggested a compromise on the dispute with Poland about the return of deported asylum-seekers. In his talks with Polish Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski in Warsaw, the Christian Democratic politician suggested that asylum-seekers who had already entered the country should not be deported to Poland by land [as heard]. In return, Poland would be ready to take back all future economic refugees travelling to Germany. The daily reports that Skubiszewski agreed to this proposal. Biedenkopf is meeting with Polish Prime Minister Hanna Suchocka today.

Walesa on Domestic Issues, Foreign Relations

AU0902143193 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 4 Feb 93 pp 1, 9

[Interview with Polish President Lech Walesa by Jan Zizka; place and date not given: "It Would be Expensive To Enter Europe Individually"]

[Text] [Zizka] What is your opinion on the demonstration in Poland, a demonstration against you?

[Walesa] This is something that—if not properly understood—can cause unrest or sensation. I am a politician who has conducted a long fight against communism, and has won—not only once. What is happening now is, in fact, another victory for me. If we want to develop democracy and a pluralist society, we must admit that we are making mistakes. We have to learn a lesson from everything we have done wrong. The main thing is to stop hiding behind slogans and stirring up emotions. We must say: We have had enough fun, now we should be concerned with [political] programs—that is, who will offer us more—but these proposals should not come from the streets. Everyone who is pushing for the opposite must lose. I could react to the demonstrations in three different ways. First, when a demonstration against me is being prepared, I could organize my own demonstration, and we could settle the matter in the streets. However, I must obey the Constitution and the law, and I cannot do anything like that. I could also order the police to stop the demonstration. I could also—and I have done so—show our society who is right. That is, to show where to look for solutions, whether to look for it in the streets, or in parliamentary, governmental, or presidential structures. I am convinced that our society wants our country to develop and to have a government with a good program, and it does not want demonstrations.

[Zizka] You are being accused of having cooperated with the former secret police.

[Walesa] Our tragedy is that we headed the revolution, and that the relevant documents do not exist—they were destroyed. The Communists fought against the opposition by accusing its representatives of being agents, and being Hitler supporters. Now, the situation is rather similar—to a lesser extent, however. They speak about having collaborated with the old regime. The word "Bolek" really appeared in connection with myself. It was in 1982, when I was to be taken to court for my fight against communism. The entire action, controlled by the secret police, had the name "Bolek." Someone interpreted it as my informer's code name. But this action was against me. The documents have been destroyed. Since 1970, I conducted a fight against communism, of course, with the help of advisers, assistants, and wise people. But I was the one who made the important decisions. To put it simply, it is impossible that I could be involved in such cooperation.

[Zizka] What is your opinion on screening?

[Walesa] It must be done. However, the problem is that the secret police managed to destroy a large number of archives. It is a dangerous fact that real agents participated in this destruction, and we are unable to recognize them. Today, former secret policemen can achieve success—documents may be forged, there are blank forms which can be filled out, and some people did not even know that they had been entered on the lists. As long as we do not realize this, there is a danger of a long fight one against another. We must find those who have broken the law. Screening is necessary, but it must be done carefully, so as not to harm innocent people, and not to cause any injustice.

[Zizka] What is you opinion about the fact that the Czech Republic's representatives do not speak about the Visegrad Three in an optimistic manner?

[Walesa] This is a great misunderstanding. I understand that everyone would like to enter Europe as soon as possible. But we all must realize that—since we have a similar past—we have similar structures and economic systems, and that we have cooperated for many years. The fact that this cooperation has ceased to exist has complicated our lives, and has made our rapid entry into Europe more difficult. In my opinion, it ensues from this, logically, that we must cooperate and help speed up our entry into Europe. Of course, it is possible for everyone to enter Europe individually, but it would be too expensive. Moreover, it would prevent adjusting our economies, which are not capable of competition.

[Zizka] Last year, you spoke about the possibility of creating some kind of European Community Mark 2 in Eastern Europe. Are you still supporting this proposal?

[Walesa] Certainly. However, this is not a proposal, but just an idea. This idea is based on the fact that we cooperated with one another under Moscow's auspices. We cannot completely bypass this fact. We are not able to transform our economies in such a short time. I spoke not only about EC Mark 2, but also about NATO Mark 2, which is based on a similar idea: It should help us avoid various passions and conflicts between countries and nations. We should make agreements and secure our entry into the system of European security—be it NATO, or some other organization. We would create defensive structures for that purpose. We do not want to allow a repetition of the Yugoslav scenario. If we had implemented this sooner, there would probably not have been any changes to the borders. In my concept, there are no changes to the borders. The situation in Czechoslovakia might have developed in a slightly different way. My idea was not accepted, however.

[Zizka] Would Russia participate in such cooperation?

[Walesa] This would depend on our agreement. I suggested that we would outlaw, in our charter, nuclear and chemical weapons. Russia would not agree to that, unlike the others. This would not mean that our initiative would be directed against Russia. We would only demand that everyone must join the charter. We could put these weapons under safe control, of the North Atlantic Alliance, for example, since we will join it in the future. Let them have our weapons for the time being. We would not be able to use them as a threat.

[Zizka] In the past, Poland was wedged between Germany and Russia. Now, Poland does not have common borders with Russia, but with Ukraine. Germany, however, remains.

[Walesa] We are living on the boundary between two different eras. In such a situation it is normal that there are various disputes, demands, and illogicalities. Life must solve them, however. New relations must be based on the opening of borders, the development of trade, and cooperation. The question remains, however, of how much we are going to pay for wanting to live in the new era. The old one will put a spoke in our wheels.

[Zizka] Are your relations with the Polish Government good?

[Walesa] I have had many visions and proposals in the past. However, they were not accepted because pluralist democracy was just coming into existence. My relations with various governments varied. I must say that of all the prime ministers I have the best relations with the present one. On the other hand, in the current cabinet, there are many parties represented, and to some extent their interests prevail. In this situation, the prime minister has a very difficult task. I asked for extraordinary executive powers in the interest of solving urgent economic problems. This is important in the transitional period. Of course, the government must be subordinate to parliament, but the prime minister must have a stronger voice.

Coalition Determined To Defend Budget Bill

LD1002143893 Warsaw PAP in English 1417 GMT 10 Feb 93

[Text] Warsaw, Feb. 10—At their meeting with Prime Minister Hanna Suchocka on Wednesday [10 February], representatives of the coalition parties reiterated their determination to defend the government-proposed draft budget in which deficit will not exceed 81 trillion zlotys (approximately 5 billion dollars), press secretary to the prime minister, Zdobyslaw Milewski said.

He added that according to all coalition caucuses higher deficit would make it impossible for the government to implement its policy.

Milewski declined to say clearly whether the vote on the budget bill in the Sejm (lower house) will be combined with the vote of confidence for the government. According to leader of the Liberal Democratic Congress (KLD) Donald Tusk, resignation of the government would be "more than likely" if the budget bill is rejected by the house.

Suchocka's meeting with the coalition lasted nearly 2 hours. She is going to meet leaders of all parliamentary caucuses and circles later on Wednesday.

Sejm Begins Budget Debate

LD1102112493 Warsaw PAP in English 1056 GMT 11 Feb 93

[Text] Warsaw, Feb. 11—The Sejm (lower house of parliament) on Thursday [11 February] opened a plenary debate on the government's draft budget law for 1993, the state's financial policy and the key directions of privatization.

The government budget bill was presented to the chamber by Deputy Jerzy Eysymontt.

Defense Minister Speaks on Military Issues

WS1002073893 Warsaw Radio Zet in Polish 0715 GMT 8 Feb 93

[Studio interview with Minister of National Defense Janusz Onyszkiewicz by Andrzej Wojciechowski, from the "Guest of Radio Zet" program—live]

[Text] [Wojciechowski] What is new in the Army?

[Onyszkiewicz] The Army, as usual, is combating financial difficulties. Apart from this, thank God, no news is good news.

[Wojciechowski] What does the Army do in such periods, when there is no war, no threat of war, no need to get armed, to watch out for imperialistic designs?

[Onyszkiewicz] The Army is training; it is like in a fire brigade, there is no knowing when a fire will break out—the Army must always be prepared.

[Wojciechowski] Can this fire break out? How does a minister of defense feel in a country like Poland, quiet, stable, known as the most stable country in Eastern Europe, while a couple of thousand kilometers from here, for the first time so close, cannons are firing, planes are bombing cities, people are dying? Is it far enough from here to be sure that one day in a couple of years something similar will not happen closer to us?

[Onyszkiewicz] Unfortunately, it is possible, but of course, the situation in Yugoslavia means that the minister of defense cannot sleep at night, as soon as a Polish battalion is there, almost 1,000 soldiers strong. It is on territory which used to be calm, it is still calm, but it is beginning to get a bit hotter there.

[Wojciechowski] Do you receive daily reports from these people? Do you know the situation of these units, if they are safe? Do you receive regular reports?

[Onyszkiewicz] We get in touch a couple of times a day, not me personally, of course, but the appropriate departments and ministries. I receive general reports, unless there are some signals that demand a direct contact.

[Wojciechowski] Do we have direct communication with the units in Yugoslavia?

[Onyszkiewicz] Communication is good and all the reports arrive very quickly at headquarters.

[Wojciechowski] Why is the world observing the situation in Yugoslavia with such calm, while politicians, generals, and civil ministers of defense, like yourself say that it is impossible to intervene in Yugoslavia, that NATO cannot intervene because it is dangerous and will cost many human lives. Why is this happening?

[Onyszkiewicz] I think the world is looking not with calm but with a certain helplessness at what is happening in Yugoslavia. This helplessness comes from the fact that it is unclear as to what can be done there.

[Wojciechowski, interrupting] Send airborne troops and restore order....

[Onyszkiewicz] We are still under the impression of the recent Gulf war that ended in a swift military success. The difference between the war in Yugoslavia and the war for the liberation of Kuwait is that it is enormously difficult to determine the military goal. During the war in the Gulf, this goal was clear: the liberation of Kuwait and breaking the backbone of the Iraqi Army. While in the case of Yugoslavia, only occupation could be the goal, but this would demand tremendous resources, and nobody can afford this today either politically or financially.

[Wojciechowski] In other words there is no enemy in Yugoslavia, nobody knows who the enemy is. Can we put it this way?

[Onyszkiewicz] The situation is different in Yugoslavia because they are fighting a civil war, while in Kuwait it was a war between two countries. I would like to suggest something that resembles civil war to some extent. It is Ulster, in Northern Ireland. For many years the British have not been able to handle the situation. They can control it, but they cannot eliminate the war.

[Wojciechowski] What do you think, will there be an intervention? You have had meetings with defense ministers from many NATO countries, you have contacts with them almost every day; will there be one?

[Onyszkiewicz] It is hard to say. Concern over the situation has been constantly growing. Not just because of what is going on there now, but because of what could happen in the future. Unrest can spread to the southern parts of former Yugoslavia, to Macedonia and Kosovo. Albania and even Greece can be drawn into the conflict. Speaking of the intervention, there is a common opinion that a peaceful solution should be found, although certain military measures can be added. Still, I do not think anyone seriously considers a large-scale action like that in the Persian Gulf.

[Wojciechowski] Generals and ministers of defense often say, although in private, that no military action can be taken because many of their fellow soldiers would die. Is this the only fear?

[Onyszkiewicz] This is not the only fear. I think everybody keeps thinking about Vietnam and Afghanistan, fears getting involved in an endless war when it will be difficult to decide whether the mission is completed and soldiers may go home or should keep dying.

[Wojciechowski] If it comes to intervention, will Poland send its troops there?

[Onyszkiewicz] Our troops are there already.

[Wojciechowski, interrupting] But they are not fighting.

[Onyszkiewicz] I think it will be an extremely difficult decision for us. Our society is not prepared for these kinds of actions on the part of our troops. However, I want to say that if we want to count on others' help, we must be ready to help others.

[Wojciechowski] How would it look formally, according to the Constitution? If your NATO partners address you with a proposal to participate in the intervention, would you be able to make a decision yourself, or would this be for the prime minister or the president to decide?

[Onyszkiewicz] By all means I would be in no position to decide by myself. It would have to be determined at the highest level, probably even after a parliamentary discussion, although formally the president has to adopt such decisions. For this kind of action we could only use volunteers or professional soldiers.

[Wojciechowski, interrupting] Volunteers in such a complicated war? Why not one of the exclusive units: the red berets, the blue berets, the Podhale Riflemen? Have you ever considered this issue?

[Onyszkiewicz] I think it would be impossible to order anyone who was enlisted for regular military service in Poland to go there. Considering the moral aspect of the problem, we would have to use volunteers.

[Wojciechowski] When you are speaking about volunteers, I am sure you mean professionals.

[Onyszkiewicz] I also mean regularly recruited soldiers. In our peacekeeping units we have only volunteers, but they have volunteered for somewhat different tasks.

[Wojciechowski] Do you think that participation of our soldiers in UN military actions in Yugoslavia is a display of patriotism from the point of view of Poles? Should soldiers be taught this way?

[Onyszkiewicz] I think that we should emphasize that participation in peacekeeping missions goes together with the slogan "For Your Liberty and Ours" of which we used to be so proud. I would call it "For Your Peace and Ours." Thus I think it is a moral issue.

[Wojciechowski] Who will be the new minister of culture: Blaczynski or Klajnert?

[Onyszkiewicz] To tell you the truth I do not know. I do not participate in discussions dealing with the division of positions in the government.

[Wojciechowski] Today Russian Deputy Minister of Defense Kokoshin arrives in Poland on an official visit. What will you talk about?

[Onyszkiewicz] I think that this visit will open up a certain practice of political consultations also with Russia.

[Wojciechowski] For a long time there have not been such consultations.

[Onyszkiewicz] There have never been such consultations. I have not talked to anyone; I mean I talked to Kokoshin at some conference before he was deputy minister.

[Wojciechowski] What kind of person is he? Is he some old Afghan veteran?

[Onyszkiewicz] No, he is a young man, a civilian, a specialist who participated in various disarmament talks as a civilian expert. Thus he is a professional in military issues and a civilian , someone new in the Ministry of Defense.

[Wojciechowski] Not long ago you, too, were depicted as a civilian ignorant in military issues. Have you become a specialist?

[Onyszkiewicz] I know more but I cannot say that I know everything well.

[Wojciechowski] Then tell us about the new tank, the Polish super weapon.

[Onyszkiewicz] It is not a super weapon. It is a good tank, although of course it is not of the same class as the newest Western tanks: Abrahams, Leclerque or Leopard-II, but it is a big step forward when compared to the tanks we have had before, namely the T-72.

[Wojciechowski] During the visits to Germany and the United States, the Polish minister of national defense for the first time had a chance to see and touch weapons previously seen only in Rambo movies. What surprised you most of all?

[Onyszkiewicz] Frankly speaking I was greatly surprised with the fact that a silo with a 10-warhead Peacemaker nuclear missile a couple megatons strong was situated in an open field behind a regular fence. It was not guarded by a battalion of troops, it was at a normal farm with cows grazing around it. This was the biggest surprise for me, but it turns out that the system is based on electronic sensors and quick reaction forces able to appear immediately and check if their intervention is needed.

[Wojciechowski] Can you shoot? Have you received shooting training?

[Onyszkiewicz] I admit that I like to go to the shooting range from time to time.

[Wojciechowski] Speaking about your amazement at the fact that American silos are not guarded, it is understood that Polish ones are.

[Onyszkiewicz] First of all we do not have such missiles in Poland. We have no intention of having either such missiles or such weapons, while all the military units are guarded, of course.

[Wojciechowski] Do you believe that President Walesa wanted to buy nuclear arms? Is this possible?

[Onyszkiewicz] I do not believe it. Even if he told someone about it, it must have been a joke or a kind of provocation, but he never treated it seriously.

[Wojciechowski] What do you think about arms trade, about all the poor Poles caught selling uranium, plutonium, and Kalashnikovs? Does the Army have anything to do with it?

[Onyszkiewicz] The Army does not have anything to do with arms trade. It can only supply a certain number of weapons to be sold.

[Wojciechowski, interrupting] Does it supply them?

[Onyszkiewicz] Yes, it happens. I want to remind you that during the Gulf war, the Army supplied a great number of gas masks because there were fears....

[Wojciechowski, interrupting] Did Americans wear Polish gas masks?

[Onyszkiewicz] I do not know how many masks were sold but the demand was tremendous and due to this we were able to get rid of a part of our store. The Army does not trade weapons, other institutions take care of this. The Army cannot even influence the issue of licenses. Through some misunderstanding, the Army often gets involved in discussions on processes in which it does not participate.

[Wojciechowski] Does the Army still protect secrets pertaining to martial law? Are there any unpublished documents showing the Army's role in the 13 December events?

[Onyszkiewicz] There are no documents that might be of interest to the general public. All the documents were submitted to the commission investigating the circumstances of martial law.

[Wojciechowski, interrupting] Still investigating?

[Onyszkiewicz] The investigation is under way. Right now people accused by the commission are examining the documents to prepare their own defense. These documents are in archives and people get access to them on the regular basis. Are these documents still classified? As I have already said the political background is in no way a secret, but the introduction of martial law was a large-scale military operation; it was a mobilization of our Armed Forces. The speed of mobilization, the speed of informing about readiness, about the time needed by units to achieve such readiness, to occupy the prescribed positions—these things are kept top secret in any state.

[Wojciechowski, interrupting] Thus these things are still classified?

[Onyszkiewicz] And they should remain classified. This is something that cannot be changed. Even if there were a leakage of information to the West we cannot change anything in this matter now, so let us hope that there was none.

[Onyszkiewicz] Yesterday it was announced that joint maneuvers will soon be held in which Polish troops will participate along with NATO units. Could you give any details?

[Onyszkiewicz] There is a proposal to hold joint naval maneuvers with NATO and the Baltic states: Poland, Lithuania, and Russia as well, which, I think is very essential. The preparations are under way, there have been first contacts; we are now waiting for the realization.

[Wojciechowski] Will these maneuvers be held in the Baltic Sea?

[Onyszkiewicz] These naval maneuvers will be held in the Baltic Sea in the area of Bornholm. They will consist of two stages. In the first stage naval units from non-NATO countries will participate, in the second stage only NATO countries will be involved.

[Wojciechowski] So it will not be the moment for which our grandfathers and fathers have been waiting for more than 50 years, when an American soldier sets foot on Polish soil, at least for a moment, at least for maneuvers.

[Onyszkiewicz] This will not be the moment, although I think it will arrive some day. It might be within peacekeeping preparation drills. We applied for it long ago and we are waiting for the response.

[Wojciechowski] Ukrainian reporters told me not long ago that during your visit to Ukraine, Kiev newspapers published a report about your wife being Pilsudski's granddaughter, and it evoked great astonishment. Is this correct?

[Onyszkiewicz] I did not witness this reaction but, indeed, my interlocutors somehow got hold of this information and accepted it with interest and great sympathy. I think that in Kiev, more than in Lvov, people rather remember the Pilsudski-Petlyura agreement and not the conflict around Lvov.

[Wojciechowski] Could you tell us a few words about the military cooperation agreements signed recently with Ukraine and Germany? What do they provide for? Is it a secret agreement or can it be read? Why was it not published in the newspapers?

[Onyszkiewicz] It is not an international treaty. It is just a working agreement between ministries that does not resemble a treaty on military assistance in the sense of a military union. It is rather a declaration of will to cooperate similar to those signed with Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Greece, Latvia, France.... There are still a couple of similar documents to be signed in the future: with Romania, probably with Russia; about the latter we will talk with Mr. Kokoshin. It will outline certain frameworks of cooperation, solve certain technical matters, like the issues of sharing costs and so on, arrange certain things.

[Wojciechowski, interrupting] So there are no secret appendices, no articles reading that if Ukraine attacks us, Germany will intervene two weeks after....

[Onyszkiewicz, interrupting] Absolutely not.

[Wojciechowski] Let us then go back to Russia for a moment in connection with the meeting with Kokoshin. Are there any important issues to be solved between Poland and Russia in the military field, are there any conflicts?

[Onyszkiewicz] In my opinion there are no conflicts. If you mean the withdrawal of Russian troops it is going quite smoothly; this matter has been determined by the agreement. However, military cooperation is aimed at the creation of an atmosphere of mutual confidence and without it, also in our relations with Russia, it would be difficult to feel safe in this part of Europe. Russia is a big country and if we talk with Ukrainians, Belarusians, and Lithuanians, not to mention our Western partners, who are our principal partners, we can not leave Russia out, we must build an atmosphere of security....

[Wojciechowski] How do such talks between Onyszkiewicz and Kokoshin look? Is Kokoshin a general or is he in the navy, like you?

[Onyszkiewicz] Kokoshin is a civilian. Earlier I spoke English with him.

[Wojciechowski, interrupting] This is funny. How do talks between ministers of two large neighboring countries look? Does one say : withdraw your troops from the border and we will do the same? Does it look like this or is it pure diplomacy?

[Onyszkiewicz] No, it is not pure diplomacy. There are different talks—those tete-a-tetes are as a rule much more overt and there is no need to beat around the bush. Thus, such issues also arise. As far as our talks and agreements with Ukrainians are concerned, as well as the planned agreement with Russia, they contain an article speaking about additional measures on the establishment of mutual trust. They are called additional because they do not correspond to measures outlined in Stockholm and they may look like you say, include agreements on troop withdrawal, on strengthening the system of mutual inspections for each side to see that the counterpart has no hostile designs.

[Wojciechowski] In 25 minutes, at nine o'clock, you are meeting people from the Military Commission of the United States Congress. What will you discuss?

[Onyszkiewicz] I think there are plenty of topics. They are representatives of the Democratic Party that has recently come to power....

[Wojciechowski, interrupting] ...the new class.

[Onyszkiewicz] ...which dominates both the Senate and the House of Representatives. We are going to ask them about the new administration's view on the security issue. From what I have heard, they will be asking about the results of my talks in Ukraine.

Defense Adviser Discusses Arms Industry

AU1102083593 Warsaw POLSKA ZBROJNA in Polish 4 Feb 93 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Jerzy Milewski, secretary of state with responsibility for defense affairs in the Presidential Chancellery, by Apolinary Wojtys; place and date not given: "Let the Defense Survive"]

[Text] [Wojtys] We are witnessing an undeniable revival of interest in the Polish defense, especially the aeronautics industry. Why is that? What have we managed to do that the industry is attracting so much publicity now?

[Milewski] It would be difficult to say that we have managed to do something. On the other hand, there is not the slightest doubt that something should have begun to be done after July 1991, when the report prepared by the inter-departmental commission for the organization of national defense was confirmed by the Council of Ministers and National Defense Committee. The report also discussed the defense industry and how it should indeed become smaller, but that it should also be treated differently from other branches of industry.

For something to start happening on the issue, we really did have to wait a long time. The upcoming Sejm elections were the main reason, and then there was another government that devoted its attention to something else, and it was followed by another government. So, I think that it is really high time to deal rapidly and efficiently with the Polish defense industry.

As for the aeronautics industry, I think that the greater interest has been prompted by the appearance of the Iryda and the new engine for it, the K-15.

[Wojtys] One hears very different views on the subject of the Iryda and the K-15. What do you, as an engineer specializing in turbines and someone who has already flown in the Iryda think about the issue? In Polish decisionmaking circles, there would appear to be more advocates of Western, rather than Polish, aircraft technology.

[Milewski] I graduated a long time ago. However, of course then too I was, and continue to be an advocate of what is best in world technology. In that sense, I am an advocate of Western technology.

However, I am also rational about it. I would like to see our industry develop as quickly as possible, but at a rate that can be realized. An attempt to impose a "dream rate" will not lead to any goal.

So, I think that we should begin production of the Iryda with the K-15 for the Polish Armed Forces. The engine is adequate for the time being. Of course, the Iryda should be equipped with new avionics that will turn the aircraft into a proper training-combat machine that is fully prepared for teaching pilots how to make use of combat technology.

Specialists talk about the need to strengthen the wings of the Iryda. I agree with that.

[Wojtys] Have I understood you correctly: The Iryda with the K-15 would be for the Polish Army and for export, and it would have a Larzac or Viper engine?

[Milewski] We should prepare ourselves for that possibility, especially because of the export opportunities for the Iryda. After all, in civilian aviation, this type of cooperation is used quite extensively and it satisfies the parties concerned. I think that it should be repeated in the case of the Iryda. If it turns out that someone will buy them with Western engines, then perhaps they will decide to buy our engines in the future, too. It seems to me that this is the path that we should now opt for, and it is the one that the president and the National Security Bureau have opted for.

[Wojtys] Does that stance imply any broader conclusions regarding the future of Polish defense, including its defense industry?

[Milewski] The stance of the president of the Republic of Poland concerns a strategy for the development of the Armed Forces and defense in general. The president is granted such powers by Article 34 of the new constitution.

So, we are in favor of the existence of an effective, efficient defense system of our own for the Republic of Poland, whose army is, of course, one of the most important elements. The Polish defense industry is to work for its needs. We are in favor of abandoning past practices in this respect, practices that limited our sovereignty by imposing a supply monopoly. At the moment, the aim is for the Polish Army to be supplied with what we ourselves produce as much as possible. That should at least apply to such basic items as ammunition, low explosives, tanks, guns, and machine guns, as well as combat training aircraft.

[Wojtys] So, we would not find the F-16 or the Mirage useful?

[Milewski] We do not need them just now. The Iryda is enough for us. We should, of course, maintain our own defense research capability.

[Wojtys] What do you think of the Scorpion [aircraft] at the moment?

[Milewski] Yes, the Scorpion is currently the subject of research, not use. To decide anything about its future at this moment would be pure futurology.

[Wojtys] What you have been talking about requires money above all. In view of that, can the Polish defense industry expect some assistance from the Belweder [presidential residence]? After all, it surely is not possible to finance everything in an "extraordinary" manner, if only the completion of the Iryda program, which is financed through the Scientific Research Committee....

[Milewski] It is not the job of the president to help out the government. However, the president's position on the issue that we are discussing is clear-cut: We have to maintain the defense capability that we have, the Polish Army has to be made more efficient, we have to ensure the survival of the Polish defense industry and ensure an existence for the inhabitants of Stalowa Wola, Mielec, Skarzysko, Swidnik, Pionki, and other towns where defense industry plants are basically the only employer.

So, the priorities are clear. The president is opposed to reducing the Republic of Poland's defense budget from year to year, which was the case until now.

However, that does not, at any rate, mean that the president will withhold support from Prime Minister Suchocka's government or that he intends to interfere directly in the spheres of responsibility of individual ministries. Well, our funds really are limited.

[Wojtys] So, how do you intend to approach all of this in practical terms?

[Milewski] The strategic program has to be realized above all. How quickly that happens depends on the state of finances. Nothing should be abandoned just because there is not enough money today. The money might be available tomorrow.

Convoys Cleared To Pass Iron Gates on Danube

AU1002191093 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1858 GMT 10 Feb 93

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 10/2/1993—Iorgu Diga, director of the Iron Gates Hydropower Station told a ROMPRES correspondent that the Yugoslav ships Panchevo 1, towing two empty oil barges, and Petrovaradin, accompanied by four transport units loaded with maize, were permitted Wednesday, February 10, to pass through the Iron Gates. The approval was given after the said vessels had stayed at anchor not far from the hydroelectric station for 10 days and it was based on an accord of the General Customs Direction based in Bucharest and the group of UN experts present in Romania.

Authorities Check Serbian Convoy at Iron Gates

AU1102100093 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 0900 GMT 11 Feb 93

[Text] Our correspondent at the Iron Gates II hydropower system told us a few minutes ago that representatives of the Romanian customs, border police, and the harbor master's office are currently checking the shipping documents of the Petrovaradin convoy, sailing under the Yugoslav flag and consisting of the mentioned tugboat and four barges loaded with maize.

Representatives of the UN mission in the zone are also present.

We would like to mention that yesterday local representatives of the UN Sanctions and International Missions Committee permitted two Yugoslav convoys to continue their journey. The first convoy, Pancevo-1, progressing downstream with two empty barges, passed the Iron Gates sluice yesterday afternoon. The sluice is currently not operational owing to the fact that the Petrovaradin convoy is stationed in it, waiting to be checked.

Ion Diga, the director of the Iron Gates II hydroelectric complex has told our reporter that the necessary steps were taken to put the smaller sluice into operation in order to prevent Danube shipping from total strangulation.

$7 Billion Requested for FRY Embargo Losses

AU1002211193 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1846 GMT 10 Feb 93

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 10/2/1993—The spokesman for the Ministry of the Interior told a February 10 news conference that the Romanian delegation to the Peace Agenda UN group raised the issue of the compensations Romania should receive for the losses triggered by the observance of the UN embargo against Yugoslavia. The said delegation asked that a permanent fund be created for compensations to the states burdened by the observance of sanctions imposed to some other states.

As has been announced, Romania has totalled losses of $7 billion so far in consequence of the observance of the UN embargo on Yugoslavia.

PNL Outlines Stance on Bessarabia, Danube Crisis

AU1102080293 Bucharest CURIERUL NATIONAL in Romanian 4 Feb 93 p 3

[Unattributed article: "Europe Is Seized By the Delirium of Splintering—Position of the National Liberal Party on the Situation in Bessarabia and the Events on the Danube"]

[Text] The National Liberal Party [PNL] is following the negative developments in the East European political climate with keen interest and concern. The alarming short- and long-term effects on Romania have already been noted. The general trend toward ethnic dismemberment and splintering can be seen at a wide strategic level: from the "velvet" separation in Czecho-Slovakia and the subdued appearance of the problem of Hungarians in Slovakia to the exacerbation of the conflict in former Yugoslavia and the emergence of the potential of extremely diverse confrontation in the CIS, we are witnessing a constant deterioration of relations in this part of the world.

By an unhappy coincidence, two crises of special proportions and significance recently erupted to the east and west of Romania, both of them actually proving the stability, calm, and basic aspirations of our people.

In Chisinau, the sudden resignation of the Parliament president, Alexandru Mosanu, and three other leaders created a state of political tension. These resignations followed differences in connection with the opportuneness of organizing a referendum on the independence of the Republic of Moldova. In agreement with all patriotic and democratic forces in the Republic of Moldova, those who resigned believe that such a referendum would achieve nothing but pave the way for antiunionists toward the former red horizons, thus, for the second time, turning the Prut River into an irreparable Romanian-Romanian border.

Firmly attached to the most fervent ideals of the Romanian nation, the National Liberal Party cannot be indifferent to current developments in the Republic of Moldova. The National Liberal Party demands that the Moldovan authorities, president of the Republic of Moldova, and parliament in Chisinau deal with this problem, which is of historic significance for both sides of the Prut River, thoroughly and prudently, while exercising political flexibility as the current situation requires.

We know very well that in a Europe seized by the delirium of splintering, obvious separations, and disintegration, the idea of Romania's reunification (that would mean a population of approximately 30 million) does not appeal to many poeple. However, the entire history of our coming together and settling was a fierce and long struggle against powerful opponents who tried to mar and suppress the coherence and vitality of the Romanian nation. Today, under increasingly complex geopolitical conditions, it is more than ever necessary to formulate a Romanian policy that will boldly and judiciously match our essential ideals.

The second element for concern and wide-scale European consequences is the "Danube crisis." Despite high costs that are difficult to bear by our economy, Romania has observed the embargo imposed by the international community against the ships sailing on the Danube River under the Yugoslav flag. The recent incidents of force by the Serbian side coincide, at an international level, with certain Western governments that are increasing their demands on Romania's conduct. The National Liberal Party believes that the embargo is the result of an international decision and that particularly serious situations—such as the one whereby the Serbian side tried to break the embargo—should necessarily be solved by the international community.

Neither from a legal nor material point of view is Romania able to solve—by taking tremendous risks—the controversal problem of boycotting the UN decisions against Yugoslavia.

The National Liberal Party is not an advocate of an equivocal wait-and-see attitude or convenient defeatism. However, the set of political and strategic factors linked to tension on the Danube have a shocking effect, instead of generating a reflex of collective responsibility. Consequently, this explosive dispute has to be dealt with by the Security Council, Council of Europe, and international organizations involved in this process because peace on the Danube River has to be achieved through the participation of all sides and not middlemen that one can always discard.

Consulates With Ukraine To Open on 'Mutual Basis'

AU1102104093 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0835 GMT 11 Feb 93

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 11/2/1993—Foreign Ministry spokesman Mircea Geoana informed at the 10 February news briefing that Romania and Ukraine had agreed to open consular offices on a mutual basis, at the talks the two countries' delegations had over 2-4 February.

The Romanian side accepted Ukraine's proposal to have, in the first instance, a Romanian general consulate in Odessa and a Ukrainian one in Constanta, the sides leaving for a later date the opening of a Romanian consulate in Cernauti with a Ukrainian counterpart in Suceava or another place in Romania.

The two delegations approached legislative aspects of citizenship, mutual recognition of documents issued by the two sides, and other issues.

Iliescu Attends Meeting on Security Issues

AU1002210893 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1708 GMT 10 Feb 93

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 10/2/1993—In a communique sent to ROMPRES, the Service for Protection and Guard (of personalities, editor's note) informs that Tuesday, February 9, a meeting took place to survey its activity in 1992, with special stress on the continuation of the staff's professionalization process and on the improvement of the cooperation with other state organizations which have responsibilities in the line of state security.

Participating were Romanian President Ion Iliescu, the Defense Minister [Lieutenant General Niculae Spiroiu], the Minister of the Interior [George Ioan Danescu], the director of the Romanian Intelligence Service [Virgil Magureanu], members of the specialized commissions in the Romanian Parliament and of the Supreme Defense Council of Romania, and representatives of institutions concerned with aspects of national security.

Spokesman Announces Planned Official Visits

AU1002191293 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1517 GMT 10 Feb 93

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 10/2/1993—Foreign Ministry spokesman Mircea Geoana informed the press at the 10 February news briefing that due for 11-12 February is the visit to Romania of Turkey's Minister of External Affairs Hikmet Cetin, who is to approach in the official talks scheduled with high Romanian dignitaries, President Ion Iliescu, Prime Minister Nicolae Vacaroiu, Foreign Minister Teodor Melescanu, and Parliament leaders, aspects of the bilateral relations and to exchange views on regional and international problems of mutual interest.

The spokesman said the visit to Romania of Turkey's foreign minister was part of a sustained political dialogue between the two countries.

Geoana also announced the visit to Romania over 13-14 February of the Greek Foreign Minister, Mikhail Papakonstandinou, who is to have with his Romanian counterpart an exchange of opinions on a wide range of matters concerning the development of relations between Romania and Greece, the developments in the Balkans, and other international issues of prime interest for the two countries. The Greek guest will also meet during his stay in Romania with Romania's President Ion Iliescu, parliamentarians, and Teoctist, the Patriarch of the Romanian Orthodox Church.

General Erwin Rokke [name as received], head of the Information Department of the U.S. Force Commandment in Europe, will be in Romania from 11 to 12 February following an invitation by the Romanian Ministry of National Defense. General Rokke's visit to Romania is part of the active dialogue established by Romania with the Western political-military structures and a reflection of the Romanian Government's constant preoccupation for giving substance and purposefulness to the efforts of structuring the new European architecture and its Euro-Atlantic component, the Romanian Foreign Ministry spokesman said.

Turkish Foreign Minister Begins Official Visit

AU1102095793 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 0900 GMT 11 Feb 93

[Text] Turkey's Minister of Foreign Affairs, Hikmet Cetin, arrived a quarter of an hour ago [0845 GMT] in Bucharest, beginning his official two-day visit in Romania. The Turkish guest is currently holding talks with his Romanian counterpart, Foreign Minister Teodor Melescanu.

Vacaroiu, TU Leaders View Financial Difficulties

AU1002191493 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1321 GMT 10 Feb 93

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 10/2/1993—Romania is spending $120 million a month for crude imports. Great financial effort is being made for the purchase of wheat from foreign markets, Premier Nicolae Vacaroiu stated at his meeting Wednesday, 10 February, with leaders of trade union confederations.

The prime minister assessed the present financial requirements of units depending on the state budget as insoluble for the time being and also mentioned that other major issues, each of them very serious, demand a particularly great financial effort. He quoted the extra 150 billion lei needed this year for solving the scarcity of water supplies for industrial and household use, as well as other billions of lei for irrigations. He admitted that the state budget is being constantly deprived of a large quota of revenues due to tax evasion and corruption, against which the government has launched a complex combat program.

Negotiations To Resume 11 February

AU1002210993 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1709 GMT 10 Feb 93

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 10/2/1993—The meeting between the representatives of the Romanian Government, headed by Premier Nicolae Vacaroiu, the representatives of the employers, and of the 15 trade union confederations ended after almost three hours of talks, with a common decision to resume negotiations for the national collective labor agreement for 1993.

Speaking about today's negotiations, Victor Ciorbea, Chairman of the National Council of the Free Romanian Trade Unions (CNSLR), opined in a press statement that "the meeting was beneficial because we did away with a number of obstacles, but the real negotiations are only beginning now."

Besides the collective labor agreement, tackled and hotly discussed was the matter of salaries. It was decided that the trade unions are going to be supplied both the economic-financial documentation and the substantiation notes in order to make possible discussion also of aspects regarding the minimal salary per economy and the guaranteeing of the latter's payment, as well as a setting of the pay/prices ratio.

Manolescu Favors CDR Restructuring

AU1102085293 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 8 Feb 93 p 3

[Interview with Nicolae Manolescu, president of the Civic Alliance Party, by Dan Preisz; place and date not given: "You Have To Put Something Else in Place"]

[Text] [Preisz] Mr. Professor, after more than three years since the December 1989 events, can one talk about the existence of a civic society in Romania?

[Manolescu] No, one cannot talk about that. As a matter of fact, the civic society is a desideratum and a reality that can be achieved at the end of a long process. It would have been good if we had started from a "civic society," but then we would not have had a revolution. This "texture" called "civic society," which has since vanished from Romania, is perhaps the most difficult thing to achieve now.

[Preisz] What is the position of the Civic Alliance [AC] and the Civic Alliance Party [PAC] in the achievement of this desideratum?

[Manolescu] When the AC was founded, its declared purpose was just that. As Ana Blandiana [former AC president] said, our goal is to concern ourselves more with the electors rather than the elected—that is, prepare the electorate. Right now, I believe that the AC should stick to its strategy. As far as we, those from the PAC, are concerned, we can no longer give priority to this issue, as we have become a political party in the meantime. We have shorter deadlines and short-term projects, since our primary goal is to win the elections, obtain seats in Parliament, and have an effective say in the passing of laws. This educational task has now moved to a secondary place in our order of priorities. It should be dealt with by the AC, provided that its new president, Gabriel Andreescu, takes the organization back to its original civic goals, thus removing it from the political ambitions it has strongly displayed, particularly in the past six months.

[Preisz] How do you conceive the idea of a united opposition?

[Manolescu] Right now, the Democratic Convention [CDR] must move from being an electoral coalition to a post-electoral coalition and an alliance that had something in common with the military alliances (we were in a state of "war," the deadlines were close, and we had to "win" certain targets that were within reach) to a civic alliance, since the targets are long-term in times of peace. The issue is not just to "demolish" your adversary, but to also put something else in place. I believe that this restructuring of the CDR is a prerequisite for its efficient or nonefficient functioning in the four years until the next elections. Maybe it will become as efficient as it was during the local elections in February 1992, when it functioned as an electoral coalition.

[Preisz] At the meeting of the Brasov PAC branch, you doubted that the opposition will gain politically, sooner than four years from now.

[Manolescu] I said that I do not believe in early elections.

[Preisz] Can you elaborate on that?

[Manolescu] The communists currently in the government—I am using this term in its broadest meaning, that is people with a political and economic mentality very close to the communist type, who are nevertheless more open-minded than many of the Ceausescu lot—have a proven ability to administer all kinds of crises, but they cannot come up with solutions. They will administer the crisis we are now in, they will drag it on as much as possible, and will leave us in a worse situation than we are now, from which we will have to come out, God only knows how.

[Preisz] Why his skepticism vis-a-vis the efficiency of the opposition's actions?

[Manolescu] It is very likely that the Vacaroiu government will be reshuffled soon. As for the opposition, it is up to it to come out of this state of expectancy in better shape because it will have acquired experience and gained the necessary time to work out its own ruling programs and identify the right people for these programs. Right now, we need both people and draft programs. It is one thing to have them on paper as potential leaders, and another thing to propel them forward and entrust them with the running of the institutions. The opposition may profit and become stronger if it adopts a correct position and strategy and will not squander its powers in minor, albeit popular, "battles" with Vadim Tudor [president of the Romania Mare Party] or the Socialist Party of Labor. It is not this kind of disputes that strengthen the opposition. The people should know that the battle being waged in Parliament is totally different from the one seen on the television screens.

[Preisz] Regarding the passage of the four years, will it not leave too much of a mark on the subsequent recovery process?

[Manolescu] Of course it will, but there is nothing we can do about it.

[Preisz] What is your opinion about the PAC's likely doctrinaire orientation, given the existence of the three announced motions—Christian-democratic, liberal, and neoliberal?

[Manolescu] I can tell you that there is a liberal motion, a Christian-democratic motion, and a civic-democratic motion, which is not the same as a neoliberal one. I do not know exactly what the future course will be, and I do not want to elaborate on this subject either because I promised not to become involved in the debates. These motions do not "emanate" from the National Committee, Executive Collegium, or party leadership. They were made by individuals and initiative groups. These motions are not peremptory. They merely try to give the party a clearer ideological line, not to promote a group of people to its head. Unlike the National Salvation Front [FSN], where the motions have led to the party's splitting into three groups, we want a party with a certain internal plurality because regardless of which motion wins, there will be no organizational or administrative changes in the party. The common points are more numerous than the differences between the motions. There is no such thing as pure liberalism, 100 percent Christian-democracy, or orthodox social-democracy in the Romanian policy. The overlapping areas are many, which is further reason not to turn these motions into elements of "demolishment"; on the contrary, they should contribute to strengthening the party's unity.

[Preisz] Are you pleased with the PAC's parliamentary activity?

[Manolescu] The PAC had several outstanding interventions, such as the discussion of the National Audiovisual Council Bill in the Chamber of Deputies; the request to invalidate Adrian Paunescu's [senator of the Socialist Party of Labor] election to the Senate; the reprimanding of Vadim Tudor following certain "bellicose" and "destabilizing" statements by him; and many other interventions. We plan to launch a number of priority legislative initiatives, which, except for some minor procedural differences, enjoy the backing of the entire Convention and even the FSN. As a matter of fact, everybody agrees that the budget law is useful and that the laws on loans, cadastre, and so forth should be correlated with the land law. The difference is that we give priority to the budget law, but the first 10 priority draft bills are common to both the Convention and the FSN. In spite of all this, the legislative initiative per se belongs to the government in proportion of 80 percent.

[Preisz] Of late, one can notice an obvious process of the stagnation of the reform, restoration, cosmetic measures of apparent democratization, and interference by President Ion Iliescu in matters pertaining to the government and the justice bodies. How can these phenomena be efficiently countered?

[Manolescu] What we can do is draw attention to these matters, make statements, protest, and try to convince the people. Of course, Mr. Iliescu is interfering in the affairs of the executive, as long as the Constitution does not clearly delimit the prerogatives of the executive from those of the president, something that was noted at the time when the text of the Constitution was discussed, but no importance was attached to the matter. Of course Mr.

Iliescu will further interfere in the justice and other spheres, as long as the principle of the separation of the powers in the state is not specified in the Constitution. We are now "reaping the fruit" of the Constitution that was voted two years ago. More serious now is the government's effort to politically color the administrative structures. The positions of prefect, general director in ministries and in the health and education network, and other positions are filled up exclusively with members of the Democratic National Salvation Front [FDSN], thus reflecting the will of the sole party. Of course, the government has always appointed the prefects, but it is one thing to appoint a good administrator and quite another thing to appoint a prefect on the basis of political criteria alone, just because he belongs to the ruling party. This political coloring of the administrative structures is a catastrophe; the next move will be to submit to Parliament and pass a law on the status of public clerks, which will permanently fix the people named by the Vacaroiu government in their positions. Even if we come to power in a few years, we will not be able to remove these people from their positions. This is proof of the takeover of the administrative structures by a political party, something which is unacceptable. I repeat, we can only protest, make statements, and take the floor in Parliament. Aside from that, we have no other practical way of stopping these very serious phenomena.

Hungarian Official Reports on RMKDP Talks

AU1002153293 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 9 Feb 93 p 3

[Interview with Laszlo Varga, chairman of the Hungarian Christian Democratic Party of Romania, by Peter Mag in Bucharest "over the weekend": "We Would Have Advanced More as a Movement"]

[Text] The Hungarian Christian Democratic Party of Romania [RMKDP] held its 2d Congress in Marosvasarhely [Tirgu Mures] over the weekend. After the meeting, Reverend Laszlo Varga, the minister of the Cserealj Congregation of the Marosvasarhely Presbyterian Church and the new chairman of the RMKDP, gave an interview to our Bucharest correspondent.

[Varga] This congress was the meeting of the rebirth of the RMKDP, because we have only been vegetating so far, and we only succeeded in gathering 1,000 members. The fact that we called ourselves a party rather than a movement at the outset affected our activity. It would have been better to organize ourselves as a movement, because our followers are averse to any kind of party organization. If we had been as inventive as the Hungarian Christian democrats in Slovakia who organized as a movement, we would now be more advanced in every aspect. Therefore, in the future, we will try to advance by strengthening our character as a movement, even if we have not yet changed our name.

[Mag] Has the fact that the Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania [RMDSZ—UDMR in Romanian] is the representative of the Hungarians in Transylvania played a role in your isolation so far?

[Varga] One of the main reasons for our hesitation so far is obviously the fact that, for three years, we have been told constantly and from every direction that we should not disturb the unity because there is an RMDSZ!

However, the past three years proved we were right, namely that there is a need for us, because we can be active participants in the self-organization of the Hungarians in Romania.

This is also the basic concept of the declaration of intentions adopted at our recent congress. In addition, we do not want to work in "big politics," but we are trying to contribute to the revival and preservation of the Hungarians in Transylvania by making the Christian-democratic Hungarians active in public life and by dispelling political indifference and lethargy. We want to continue to work as a joint organization of the RMDSZ. We also regard it as our task to represent Christian values, regardless of the denomination of the Hungarians in Transylvania, including the Hungarian Jews in Transylvania.

[Mag] A lively debate emerged at the congress about the self-determination and autonomy demand of the Hungarians in Romania, including the issue of territorial autonomy. What is the position of the congress on these issues?

[Varga] We do not want to get into useless debates on what we are. We regard ourselves as Hungarians and we call ourselves Hungarians. Until a better legal formulation emerges in the domestic and international documents, we accept the legal formulation of national minority. As for autonomy, we demand this in all areas of social, economic, and political life.

Izetbegovic Expresses 'Satisfaction' With U.S. Plan

LD1102124193 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 11 Feb 93

[Text] Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Presidency of Bosnia-Hercegovina, expressed satisfaction at a decision by the United States to join the diplomatic efforts to stop the war in Bosnia-Hercegovina, Kemal Muftic, the president's public relations representative, said. Asked to comment on the American decision not to use force against the Serbs and not to lift the arms embargo on Bosnia-Hercegovina, Muftic replied "The lifting of the arms embargo is of vital importance for us. But you must understand that enforcing a flight ban is also a vital question for Bosnia-Hercegovina."

Izetbegovic Welcomes 'New Direction'

AU1102134093 Paris AFP in English 1259 GMT 11 Feb 93

[Text] Sarajevo, Feb 11 (AFP)—Bosnian President Alija Izetbegovic on Thursday [11 February] welcomed the U.S. initiative on ending the war tearing his country apart, but admitted he might be "dreaming" in thinking it would hasten the end of the fighting.

Izetbegovic put on a much more optimistic face Thursday than he did five days ago, when he told reporters that endorsement of the plan drawn up by negotiators Cyrus Vance and Lord Owen would see the war continue and back the "bloody argument" of ethnic cleansing—the expulsion of Moslems from towns and villages conquered by the Serbs.

He told a press conference Thursday that he believed the U.S. initiative—which includes the appointment of a special envoy—brought the country "closer to peace," and gave a "new impulse and new direction" to diplomatic efforts to end the war.

Ministers Express Satisfaction With U.S. Plan

AU1102102793 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 0900 GMT 11 Feb 93

[Text] The representatives of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Government at the peace negotiations at the UN seat in New York, Prime Minister Mile Akmadzic and Foreign Minister Haris Silajdzic expressed satisfaction with the six-point American peace plan for ending clashes in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

My government has always supported the peace plan by Vance and Owen, and now the direct U.S. involvement in the peace process by implementing a new level of pressure at the sides with a view to attaining a unanimous agreement offers much hope that the plan will be accepted by all three sides in Bosnia-Hercegovina, Akmadzic said, according to a report by Croatian Radio.

Karadzic Says U.S. Peace Plan 'Positive'

LD1102022593 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0042 GMT 11 Feb 93

[Text] New York, Feb 10 (TANJUG)—Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic on Wednesday [10 February] described as positive the U.S. Administration's peace plan for war-shattered Bosnia-Hercegovina, disclosed in Washington by U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher.

"We received Christopher's statement with considerable relief," Karadzic told Yugoslav reporters here.

"We welcome everything, except the repeated condemnation of the Serb side, based on propaganda lies, and except for the threat of sanctions against Serbia, which in this case is blameless," said Karadzic. He welcomed the U.S. Administration's proposal of a political solution by diplomatic methods and the participation of a U.S. envoy in the talks in the future.

Karadzic hoped that Russia would in the future play a more significant part in the peace process. "Russia's presence can only help," he added. He gave unreserved support to the formation of an international war crimes tribunal.

"This would be an opportunity to bring to trial Genscher [former German foreign minister], Mock [Austrian foreign minister] and other politicians in Germany and some other countries, who blackmailed Europe into breaking up Yugoslavia," said Karadzic.

"The Serbs cannot but welcome the idea, because many crimes have gone unpunished since World War Two ... crimes committed during the wars in Korea, Vietnam, Cambodia and other hotbeds of crisis since the Second World War have gone unpunished," he added.

He laid special stress on crimes against Serbs in the current war, which he said were "the most numerous and the perpetrators of which should be brought to justice."

Commander: Army 'Will Not Allow Any Partition'

AU1002171293 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 10 Feb 93

[Report by Mladen Bosnjak on news conference by Stjepan Siber, deputy commander of the Supreme Command of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Armed Forces, in Sarajevo on 10 February]

[Text] [Bosnjak] At the very start of his statement to reporters, Stjepan Siber, deputy commander of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Armed Forces Supreme Command, pointed to the obstruction of the return of Bosnia-Hercegovina official representatives to the country that has been frequently practiced during the past month. The main reason for that is the employment of people from the sides in the conflict in the former Yugoslavia by the United Nations. That obstruction is an example that can serve as an illustration of the fact that there are attempts everywhere at undermining the Bosnia-Hercegovina defense efforts.

Apart from that, according to Mr. Siber, Bosnia-Hercegovina is also greatly undermined by the following:

[Begin Siber recording] On the other hand, the self-appointed representatives of our country or those who have been elected by incompetent people, particularly in Croatia, are mongering, spending the money from benefactors from all over the world, and yet calling themselves fighters of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Army. These mongers, these runaways, now expect ministerial seats, ambassador or consul positions, without having done anything for our Bosnia-Hercegovina. They have not even seen the misery, tragedy, and the suffering but have instead escaped with their whole families. [end recording]

[Bosnjak] Mr. Siber said that he spoke on behalf of the army when he stated:

[Begin Siber recording] Bosnia-Hercegovina cannot be divided into any so-called Muslim, Serbian, and Croatian Bosnia-Hercegovina, and Muslim, Serbian, and Croatian provinces. It cannot be divided into provincial governments, armies, and police forces. There cannot be a state without a state government, army, police force, judiciary, currency, and customs. The army, that is, the Bosnia-Hercegovina fighters, will not allow any partition of the country into provinces or regions or whatever, that would be called Muslim, Serbian, or Croatian. You know very well why. Because these Serbian and Croatian provinces could join Serbia and Croatia respectively whenever they felt like it. The Bosnia-Hercegovina Army supports the platform, and the platform of the Presidency states that Bosnia-Hercegovina is indivisible. [end recording]

[Bosnjak] Out of the reporters' questions, that is, Mr. Siber's answers, we have selected those that are concerned with the current relations between the Croatian Defense Council and the Bosnia-Hercegovina Army, and the negotiations within the framework of the military subcommittee that continued at Sarajevo airport yesterday.

[Begin Siber recording] You have heard, I have told you, that General Petkovic is coming to Sarajevo tomorrow. That in itself should mean something. On the other hand I have to tell you about the good relations between the Croatian Defense Council and the Bosnia-Hercegovina Army here in Sarajevo. I hope that I do not have to tell you about the good relations and the joint struggle in Posavina. Ever since Slavko Zelic came to Sarajevo to take the function of commander of the Kralj Tvrtko Brigade, and Mr. Vladimir Sah as commander of the Croatian Defense Council ground forces, the Croatian Defense Council units and the First Corps units have been defending Sarajevo together. That cooperation and joint effort has been improving daily, but both the army and the Croatian Defense Council in Sarajevo lack many things they should have to complete our task as soon as possible.

Talks started again yesterday by the subgroup for the repair of the power lines in and around Sarajevo. They started yesterday, but you would not be able to tell the difference. The plan produced by General Morillon's [UN Protection Force commander in Bosnia-Hercegovina] team was not even considered yesterday. The reason for that was that the aggressor's representative first protested because I was not at the talks. To cut a long story short and colorful let me read what the aggressor's representative said: I protest against the room I find myself in. I think that it is not adequate for the level of my position and rank. I am the commander of the Sarajevo-Romanija Corps. I will become a general in 10 days. [end recording]

[Bosnjak] Mr. Siber asked the foreign reporters several times to try and make their way through to Cerska and Zepa, so that they could tell the world about what they witnessed there, things that the world has not yet seen. That fact would be a considerable contribution to the general truth about what is being done to Bosnia-Hercegovina and its citizens.

Mazowiecki Threatens To Resign Commission

LD1002174093 Warsaw PAP in English 1656 GMT 10 Feb 93

[Text] Warsaw, Feb. 10—Former Polish Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki on Wednesday [10 February] threatened to resign from his mission as the United Nations Human Rights Commission's special rapporteur to the former Yugoslavia unless measures are taken to ensure respect for basic human rights in the escalating conflict.

Speaking to journalists at Warsaw airport on his return from the U.N.-sponsored peace conference in Geneva, Mazowiecki announced that unless progress is made to implement respect for human rights in the conflict, he would be forced to abandon his mission. "I have no wish to fulfil the role of an umbrella disguising the helplessness of the international organisations," he said.

He added that the report from his latest mission to the region would be presented to members of the U.N. Human Rights Commission in Geneva, probably on Thursday. It would include documentation from the medical commission investigating cases of rape by Serbs of Moslem women in Bosnia-Hercegovina, and details of mass graves near Vukovar (Croatia), which were most likely the result of war crimes.

Mazowiecki called for a "test of credibility" from the warring parties, including the immediate release of all internees detained in prison camps, guarantees that humanitarian aid convoys would be allowed to travel freely, and respect for the security zones in the region. He also called for the U.N. forces to be reinforced, and for their mandate to be broadened.

Earlier, before leaving Geneva, Mazowiecki called for Cyrus Vance and Lord Owen, twin mediators in the conflict, to be given greater powers by the U.N. to pressure the warring parties to respect human rights.

Austrian Minister Describes 'War Against Women'

AU1102084493 Paris AFP in English 0128 GMT 11 Feb 93

[Text] Geneva, Feb 11 (AFP)—The conflict in Bosnia-Hercegovina is a "war against women" who have become the victims of mass rape, Austria's Minister for Women's Affairs Johanna Dohnal told the U.N. Human Rights Commission here Wednesday [10 February].

Dohnal, who will put forward concrete proposals on women's rights at the world conference on human rights in Vienna in June, said the "cheap weapon" of rape was being used by "men who fight each other through the bodies of their enemies' wives, daughters and mothers."

The commission's special rapporteur on the former Yugoslavia, Tadeusz Mazowiecki, will annex to his own report an inquiry on rapes in Bosnia drawn up from January 12-23 by an international medical team.

Mazowiecki's report is to be made public late Thursday, and it will be the third document of its kind since he was appointed last August.

The medical experts took down 119 accounts proving that Croatian, Moslem and Serb women had been detained for long periods and repeatedly raped.

However the vast majority of the victims were Bosnian Moslems. Mazowiecki said the prime culprits were the Serb forces.

Dohnal said the inquiry showed that the atrocities committed in ex-Yugoslavia went well beyond the rapes carried out in past conflicts where the woman was considered to be the booty of the conqueror.

"Women have been raped in most cases under terrible and particularly humiliating circumstances," she said, often "by what used to be friendly neighbours."

They were raped "in order to make the return to their homes impossible. The lives of women have been and still are destroyed in order to 'ethnically cleanse' the area where they used to live."

Mazowiecki, who said earlier Wednesday that he might resign his post if human rights violations continued unabated, declared that it was impossible to estimate the number of rapes as victims kept quiet due to psychological difficulties.

Dohnal told a press conference that the Austrian Government was drawing up a list of cases that could be used at a war crimes tribunal. "There are many names," she said, but "the more publicity there is, the less the victims dare to talk."

The minister went on to say that the Vienna conference would provide an excellent forum for further action," [quotation marks as received] adding: "The rights of women have to be made a priority issue. I intend to present concrete proposals in this respect at the conference."

Dohnal, who has set up a programme in Austria called "Victims of War: Raped Women," said the victims "need more than our sympathy, they need our help." The programme is designed to give assistance to care centres for raped women, and also "to support gynecological departments in hospitals and related activities."

Mazowiecki's report on Thursday will comprise two parts, one on the mass use of rape as an instrument of war in former Yugoslavia and the other on allegations concerning summary executions and mass graves found in trouble spots.

Sarajevo Assembly Refuses Aid To Protest Fighting

AU1102124893 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 11 Feb 93

[Text] The Executive Committee of the Sarajevo City Assembly has made a decision to stop receiving humanitarian aid in Sarajevo in solidarity with the people of eastern and northeastern Bosnia, as well as other regions of the state of Bosnia-Hercegovina where humanitarian aid is not being delivered.

The decision will come into force immediately and has been made as an expression of protest for failure to implement the UN resolution, because of which the civilian population—the elderly, women, and children—in the regions under temporary chetnik [Serbian] occupation are dying of hunger.

Morillon Promises Aid for Eastern Bosnia

AU1002181893 Paris AFP in English 1811 GMT 10 Feb 93

[Report by Hugh Nevill]

[Text] Sarajevo, Feb 10 (AFP)—The commander of the U.N. forces in Bosnia-Hercegovina promised Wednesday to send aid convoys to beleaguered settlements in the east of the country close to Serbia.

Serb troops who launched a new offensive there January 24—still going on—have forced thousands of Moslems to flee under the process known as "ethnic cleansing."

Most of the refugees have gone to the towns of Tuzla and Zepa, putting a severe strain on their resources.

Representatives of the area say that 70 percent of Zepa is destroyed, but that its population has swelled from 4,500 to about 30,000.

Many of the refugees making the trek through mountains and forests are in bad shape, with little or nothing to eat on the way and the high ground below freezing.

Only one convoy has reached the town—on January 17—since fighting started in the area 11 months ago.

French General Philippe Morillon, the commander of the U.N. Protection Force, met with the representatives Wednesday and gave them a timetable for relief convoys.

He said negotiations with local Bosnian and Serb commanders were under way for local ceasefires as the convoys pass through.

He said he was ready to travel to the area himself with U.N. monitors.

One convoy was ready to leave Thursday for Srebrenica, he said, and convoys for Tuzla were scheduled for February 13, 15, 17 and 19. Another was due to leave for Zepa on February 18.

On February 14, Morillon said, a convoy was planned to supply the towns of Kamenica, Cerska and Konjevic-polje.

Another is scheduled to go to Gorazde on February 16, and one for Cerska on February 21.

A convoy is also planned Saturday for the northwestern Bihac area, where heavy fighting is going on and where the convoys have been blocked by Serb forces for about two weeks. It would leave from Croatia.

Morillon acknowledged that five Serbs taken prisoner by the Bosnians were being freed to allow a convoy from Sarajevo to the eastern town of Gorazde—blocked along the route at Rogatica—to continue.

He said he did not like the concept, but that it was the only way the relief could get through.

A cease-fire between Bosnian army and Serb forces in Sarajevo appeared to be holding tenuously Wednesday, with some flat-fired antiaircraft rounds and small-arms fire reported, but only a few artillery shells were fired on the capital, which has been under siege by the Serbs for 10 months.

Morillon said that if the ceasefire held for three days, combined repair teams of Serb, Bosnian and U.N. engineers would resume repairs to shared utilities such as electricity lines on the front lines around Sarajevo.

Radio Sarajevo reported artillery and infantry attacks round the northeastern towns of Brcko, Gradacac and Zvornik, and a Serb attack on Bugojno, near the central town of Gornji Vakuf, where fighting between Bosnian army and Croat units appears to have died down.

In the north, the radio said, there were heavy artillery bombardments around Zvornik and Olovo.

Colonel Stjepan Siber, the second in command of the Bosnian army, came out Wednesday in support of the government's rejection of a peace-plan map which would divide Bosnia-Hercegovina into 10 semi-autonomous regions.

The colonel said the army would not allow the country to be divided along Serb-Croat-Moslem lines.

Serb Army Accuses Izetbegovic of 'Terrorism'

LD1002133193 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1042 GMT 10 Feb 93

[Text] Belgrade, 10 Feb (TANJUG)—The information service of the General Staff of the army of the Serb Republic [in Bosnia-Hercegovina] claims in its statement today that Alija Izetbegovic, the leader of Bosnian Muslims, "organizes and conducts state terrorism."

The statement, sent to TANJUG, stresses that Izetbegovic "has already formed a special brigade for terrorist actions, which he personally commands" through Rasim Delalic and Jovan Divjak.

The brigade's task is "to conduct terror against disobedient Muslims at home and abroad as well as against Serb and Croatian refugees" and "all those who are in any way putting up resistence to Alija's concept of setting up an Islamic religious community," the statement stresses.

Special units within the brigade, the statement by the Serb Republic army command adds, will act abroad and terrorize citizens of former Bosnia-Hercegovina and Yugoslavia, and will also be "perpetrators of other kinds of organized crime abroad."

The information service of the Serb Republic army General Staff claims that members of the brigade have already committed acts of organized terrorism and crime. The statement says leaflets issued by the "government of Bosnia-Hercegovina" calling on the Muslims to terrorize Serbs and "traitors," have already been distributed abroad and that many murders have been committed.

The statement cites the case of "Dr. Mirzet Halilovic, a surgeon who lived and worked with Serbs in Sanski Most and who was killed in Zurich where he went to visit his family." "In Vienna and other towns, a number of artists and other people who associated with Serbs and helped their struggle have been assasinated." Similar "terrorist acts have also been taking place on the territory of Yugoslavia, Croatia, and Slovenia," the statement by the information service of the Serb Republic army General Staff says.

Serbs Training for Possible 'International' Clash

LD1002141893 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in English 1305 GMT 10 Feb 93

[Text] In the region of Banja Luka/Bosanska Gradiska yesterday, Serbian forces underwent training in preparation for the possibility of an attack by international forces on important targets. Croatians and Muslims are reported to have been used as human shields and have been taken to these targets. In Bosanska Gradiska they practiced the evacuation of the population. Non-Serbs are being terrorized, and yesterday a woman was killed by rifle fire.

Serbs Reportedly Bombard Srebrenica

LD1002135093 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1200 GMT 10 Feb 93

[Text] Serbs have intensified their attacks on Srebrenica, Bratunac, Vlasenica, and Zvornik. Two enemy planes bombarded Srebrenica and the defense positions twice last night. Thirty one people were killed and more than 70 injured during the air raid and in an artillery attack.

Sarajevo Radio Reports Continuation of Fighting

AU1002160093

[Editorial Report] Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian at 1400 GMT 10 February carries in its regular 30-minute newscast several reports on the fighting in the republic.

The Brcko Press Center reports that "the chetniks [Serbian forces] used multiple rocket launchers, 122mm and 150mm howitzers, tanks and mortars to support their attempts at an infantry breakthrough at the Poljaci defense line. The defenders responded fiercely and once again showed the aggressor that there will be no advance through this iron defense shield. The aggressor has been using howitzers, tanks, and mortars on the central part of the front, but the Second Corps of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Army is holding the front lines and the reserve corridor Brcko-Donji Rahic-Ulice-Gornji Vuksic-(?Lanista)-Lomnica-Pelagicevo."

The Gradacac Information Center report says that "the day is being marked by occasional artillery attacks by the chetniks. At about midday there were fierce infantry clashes near (?Ukici), while at the same time on the eastern part of the front, the aggressor used 82mm mortars to pound the area toward Avramovici. All these attacks lack the usual intensity of the Gradacac front."

The studio announcer says that "the chetnik aggressor is launching one offensive after another on Kamenica, Novo Selo, Lipanj, and Snagovo on the free territory of the southern Zvornik commune. Thousands of shells land daily on this area from multiple rocket launchers, tanks and howitzers from the well-known chetnik strongholds in (?Lijetanj), Kulagrad, and Jeremica Brdo."

Reporting from Olovo, Velid Djindo says that "for several days now, the town and the defense positions have been exposed to a fierce artillery barrage by the aggressor."

The studio announcer cites correspondent Atif Agic that "there is no peace in Gornji Vakuf as was seen last night, when fusillades from small arms were heard. The imported Croatian Defense Council units are firing from the surrounding hills at everything that moves." According to him, "military commissions are continuing their talks today, and Jasmin Jaganjac, military adviser to President Alija Izetbegovic, is expected to arrive today. A larger number of Gornji Vakuf Croats have been noticed in Bugojno who do not want to take part in the attacks and destruction of their town."

In her report from Sarajevo, Senada Cumurovic says "the city is mostly quiet, particularly the districts of Centar and Novi Grad. There is occasional fire from snipers and antiaircraft machine guns on the outskirts of Stari Grad. Several shells landed on Dobrinja this morning, while from Lukavica the enemy fired splinter ammunition from antiaircraft machine guns."

The Vogosca Press Center reports that "there has not been any serious shelling or fighting on this front today."

Serbs Reportedly Using Chemical Agents in Brcko

AU1102112493

[Editorial Report] Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian at 0900 GMT on 11 February carries in its regular newscast, which lasts 25 minutes, several reports on the fighting in the republic.

Ramiz Brkic reports from Tesanj on "relative calm in the town of Tesanj itself last night. However, combined infantry-artillery battles took place in the outskirts of the commune." Brkic also says that "this morning, the aggressor continued his provocations against almost all the defense lines, using several types of weapons, including artillery, but the defense lines have remained stable."

A report from Brcko by Brcko Commune Press Center correspondents Hamid Deronjic and Nihad Salihovic says that "the Brcko Hiroshima continues: The enemy has launched from Cadjavac 80 mortar bombs [mina] charged with chemical agents [bojni otrov] of the tear gas and asphyxiating gas types against the region of Omerbegovaca. The aggressor also attacked the region of Dizdarusa using howitzers, tanks, and mortars, as well as a lethal chemical agent: asphyxiating gas."

(Sefik Dadzo) reports from Zivinice about "last night" in the Zivinice Commune being "calm," but adds that "helicopters are still flying over these regions. One such example was registered last night at 2200, when a helicopter flew along the Majevica-Sekovici line."

Sarajevo correspondent Jovo Jovanovic reports about "quite strong combat activities by the aggressor in Sarajevo this morning." He says that "the enemy started shelling the outskirts of the Stari Grad Commune—Sedrenik, Vasin Han, and Vratnik—at 0630 this morning." "As for the Centar Commune, several shells fell around the Vrbanja Bridge between 0700 and 0740, and Chetnik artillery is still occasionally shelling the entire region of the commune. In Novi Grad, quite strong small arms fire and occasional explosions can be heard from the direction of Nedjarici and the borders of Mojmilo Hill. The regions of Stup Hill, Stup Two, Hadzici, and [name indistinct] Street are still under an enemy barrage, which began at about 0630 this morning."

An unnamed correspondent reports from Vogosca that "as I report, the enemy's artillery attacks against populated districts are intensifying."

Irfan Durmic, an electricity board official, says that "from 1657 yesterday, Sarajevo was without electricity again after the transmission lines were damaged." According to Durmic, UN Protection Forces have given assurances that they will escort teams to repair the damage "tomorrow."

A reporter whose name is indistinct says that "water supplies in Sarajevo have been totally paralyzed since yesterday afternoon, when the electricity was disconnected causing all the pumping stations to stop working."

TANJUG Reports Clashes With 'Mojahedin'

LD1002223293 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2204 GMT 10 Feb 93

[Text] Bratunac, Feb 10 (TANJUG)—Bosnian Moslems and mujaheddin from Islamic countries on Wednesday [10 February] evening continued attacking the Serb positions in the area of the Serb-populated town of Bratunac, in the east of the war-ravaged former Yugoslav republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

The Bosnian Serb army said it had thwarted all Moslem attempts to seize the strategically important Caus hill, which the Serb fighters have taken in the night between Tuesday and Wednesday.

The 700-m hill, situated six kilometres from Bratunac, dominates the Moslem stronghold of Srebrenica and the nearby Moslem-controlled Sase lead and zinc mine.

Control of the Caus hill has given the Serbs a better position in the defence of Bratunac which had been shelled by the Moslems for days.

Throughout the day, Moslems pounded the Serb positions in the broader area of the village of Kravice, where they massacred more than 100 Serb civilians, mostly women and children, in late December.

The Bosnian capital Sarajevo was relatively quiet on Wednesday, with sporadic Moslem fire trying to provoke a response from the other side.

The Bosnian Serb news agency SRNA reported that Serb and Moslem representatives met at Sarajevo airport on Wednesday and agreed to work on repairing the power lines in Sarajevo from 12 to 26 February.

After the repairs, the two sides should agree on power distribution, said SRNA and added that the problem with power supply was the worst in the Serb-controlled suburb of Grbavica.

Civilian Targets Reportedly Shelled in Ljubinje

LD1002224093 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2044 GMT 10 Feb 93

["Pool" item]

[Text] Bileca, Feb 10 (TANJUG)—Moslem and Croat forces on Wednesday noon shelled civilian targets in the Serb-populated Ljubinje municipality in eastern Hercegovina from long-range artillery weapons, the Bosnian Serb Army said on Wednesday [10 February].

A statement released this evening said four shells had fallen on Ljubinje. No word was immediately available about casualties.

Eastern Hercegovina is part of the former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, where a fierce ethnic war has been raging for the past ten months among the local Croats, Moslems and Serbs.

TANJUG's correspondent learned at the Bosnian Serb Army Command for Hercegovina that Croat and Moslem forces had enlarged their usual provocations of the Serbs by shelling the sector of Nevesinje and Mostar in eastern Hercegovina from multiple rocket launchers.

Around Trebinje in the same area, Croat forces opened fire from small arms and antiaircraft guns. There was also some sniper activity.

Fighting was also reported in the area of Foca in eastern Bosnia-Hercegovina, where Moslems tried to infiltrate a small infantry unit among the Serbs, but were beaten back, suffering heavy casualties, the statement said.

Muslim-Croat Clashes in Gornji Vakuf Continue

LD1002221593 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1758 GMT 10 Feb 93

[Text] Banja Luka, Feb 10 (TANJUG)—Strongest clashes between Moslems and Croats in Bosnia-Hercegovina are taking place in Gornji Vakuf, central Bosnia, it was said on Wednesday [10 February] at the press centre of the VRS (Army of the Serb Republic) in Banja Luka.

Moslems attacked the southern section of the town of Gornji Vakuf which is controlled by the forces of Bosnian Croats and both sides sustained great losses—the Moslem-controlled Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina reported.

Although clashes do not cease, now in progress are UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force]-brokered negotiations between representatives of the warring sides, the radio said.

On Monday, the Moslem and Croat sides in Gornji Vakuf, in the presence of representatives of the UNPROFOR and the European Community (E.C.), had already achieved accord on a ceasefire.

The local Croatian authorities in the central Bosnian town of Prozor on Tuesday night announced that the Moslem extremists from the Party of Democratic Action (SDA) in Prozor, together with Moslem units loyal to Alija Izetbegovic, attacked Croatian population in Prozor.

Mija Jozic, president of the local Croatian Council of Defence (HVO), which is the organ of military-civilian authorities of Bosnian Croats, announced at a news conference in Mostar that the Moslem forces from Mt. Igman and from the adjacent town of Gornji Vakuf had attacked "HVO units and Croatian people in the Prozor community," Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina reported on Wednesday.

[Words indistinct] "now these Moslems, organizers of an aggression on Prozor, have found refuge in the nearby towns, Jablanica and Konjic, where they disseminate big lies through the Moslem-controlled media."

At the same time, Jozic denied leader of Bosnian Moslems Alija Izetbegovic's assertions that the HVO units set ablaze 75 Moslem houses in Prozor. He added that 10 Moslem and 20 Croat houses burned down during the Moslem-Croat clashes in the Prozor region. It was in mid-January that the conflicts intensified between Bosnian Moslems and Croats who had until recently been allies in the war against Bosnian Serbs.

Mostar Quiet; Deportation of 14 Serbs Condemned

LD1002173293 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 10 Feb 93

[Report by correspondent Slavko Rako for Croatian Radio from Hercegovina]

[Text] Mostar was quiet today as the usual provocations took place along the demarcation line with the Serb aggressor. The Serb aggressor opened sporadic fire from antiaircraft machine guns and mortar launchers in the area between Mostar and Stolac. According to details available to the Mostar-based defense department of the Croatian Defense Council, it was also peaceful on the territory of Busovaca, while intensified infantry provocations by Muslim forces took place in Gornji Vakuf.

The Croatian Defense Council of the Croatian Community of Herceg-Bosnia issued a statement today in connection with an incident that took place on 5 February, when a group of unauthorized people arbitrarily and forcefully evicted 14 citizens, predominantly Serbs. The statement says that this is an action that threatens the authority of the Croatian Defense Council and its bodies and undermines activities of Croatian champions of peacemaking policy in Bosnia-Hercegovina who accepted all Geneva documents.

The Croatian Defense Council of the Croatian Community of Herceg-Bosnia called for all circumstances of this incident to be established. All the evicted people have been guaranteed a safe return to Mostar and all their rights will be secured in cooperation with representatives of the International Red Cross, the European observers, and the Office of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees.

Interior Ministry Reports Intra-Serbian 'Clash'

AU1002181593 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 10 Feb 93

[Text] The Bosnia-Hercegovina Ministry of Internal Affairs has learned from sources close to the chetnik [Serbian forces] command that there has been a violent clash between Vucurevic [president of the self-proclaimed Serbian Autonomous Region of Hercegovina] and Pale.

After the news conference that he held in Trebinje, where he said that the eviction of Muslims from that area was organized by the Serbian Democratic Party of Trebinje, Vucurevic was severely criticized by the other Serbian Democratic Party members because he had not come up with something more convincing than, quote, those inanities that nobody in his right mind would believe.

In his own defense, Vucurevic said that this was the statement he had been given from Pale, and that therefore he could not have changed anything there. Then he said that it was the work of the fifth column, blaming Pero Vujicic, deputy information minister of the ministry of internal affairs of the phantom Serbian republic. Vucurevic stressed that it was not the first time Vujicic has produced hilarity with his idiotic statements, thus undermining the good standing that the officials of the so-called Serbian republic enjoyed with the people.

Serbs, Croats Exchange Prisoners of War

LD1002145793 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1158 GMT 10 Feb 93

[Text] Grahoovo, 10 Feb (TANJUG)—An exchange of prisoners based on the principle "all for all" took place in Celebic, on the border between the municipalities of Grahovo and Livno yesterday afternoon.

Twenty nine Serbs from Livno were exchanged for 29 Croats from Glamoc, in the presence of representatives of the International Red Cross and the prisoner exchange commissions.

Meanwhile, in the village of Kovacici, an agreement was reached to exchange the remaining 800 Serbs detained in camps in the areas of Livno, Duvno, and Sujica by the end of the month.

Tudjman Discusses Peace Plan, UN Mandate

PM1002164993 Barcelona LA VANGUARDIA in Spanish 4 Feb 93 p 4

[Interview with Croatian President Franjo Tudjman by Ricardo Estarriol in Zagreb; date not given]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] [Estarriol] You suggested in recent statements that the arms embargo against Bosnia-Hercegovina should not be lifted. How is it possible for Croatia, whose natural allies against the Serbian aggression are the Muslims, to make such a proposal?

[Tudjman] All that I said was that lifting the embargo would prolong the war, with all its consequences, indefinitely. Lifting the embargo against Bosnia-Hercegovina implies that the embargo on Croatia should also be lifted. Despite this, a great deal of time would have to elapse before both countries achieved Yugoslavia's level of arms. I am in favor of lifting the embargo only if the United Nations undertakes military action to stop the war.

[Estarriol] But do you not believe, Mr. President, that a state's right to self-defense is at issue here?

[Tudjman] Croatia already exercised it when it armed itself despite the embargo.

[Estarriol] Relations between Croats and Muslims in Bosnia-Hercegovina have deteriorated. Do you believe that it was right that, before the Geneva conference (on the Vance-Owen plan) reached any conclusion, Mate Boban, the Croat leader in Bosnia-Hercegovina, should try to bring under Croatian command the Muslim units in the area which the Vance-Owen plan awards to the Croats? In fact this was one of the main causes of the Croatian-Muslim incidents.

[Tudjman] You will have to speak with Mr. Boban about this. I asked both Boban and President Izetbegovic to harmonize their struggle against the aggressors. The problem lies in the fact that Muslim extremist elements are trying to set up an Islamic state in Bosnia-Hercegovina. It was they who provoked the incidents, forgetting that Bosnia-Hercegovina exists today thanks to the fact that the Croats defended its territories, and also forgetting that Croatia has received half a million Bosnians, 80 percent of whom are Muslims.

[Estarriol] The so-called Serbian military corridor in northern Bosnia-Hercegovina is important for Croatia's security. Do you believe that the Vance-Owen plan has taken this matter sufficiently into account?

[Tudjman] I do not understand your question: The plan guarantees everybody's freedom of movement...

[Estarriol] ...including weapons and troops?

[Tudjman] No, because the Vance-Owen plan envisages the demilitarization of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

[Estarriol] But do you deem it realistic? U.S. Secretary of State Christopher does not believe so.

[Tudjman] Look: If the U.S. and European diplomats had not declared in 1990 and 1991 that there would be no international military intervention, the Serbs would probably not have dared begin the aggression, first in Croatia and then in Bosnia-Hercegovina. If the international community and Europe were now to threaten an intervention with the NATO and U.S. forces, the situation would be different and the Serbs would be forced to accept demilitarization.

[Estarriol] But the Vance-Owen plan for Bosnia-Hercegovina resembles the Vance plan for Croatia: It does not specify at all who should be in charge of demilitarization.

[Tudjman] The Vance plan achieved the first part of its task—to stop the war and make the Yugoslav communist army withdraw—but soon, when the mandate expires, we will not accept peacekeeping forces which are not authorized to use force in order to demilitarize the Serbian units. We will put forward completely new proposals for the blue helmets to be not simply peacekeeping [preceding word in English] forces (to keep the peace) but peacemaking [preceding word in English] forces (to make peace). And if they are unable to do so, European forces—from NATO, for instance—should be used.

[Estarriol] Did Vance and Owen give you any kind of tacit assurance or promise of passivity with respect to the Croatian attacks in Krajina?

[Tudjman] Vance and Owen acknowledged the justice of the Croatian demands. The matter was discussed 2-4 January at the Geneva conference; later, the two cochairmen discussed this with Cosic [FRY president] and Milosevic [Serbian president], and they stated in Zagreb 6 January that they deemed justified the Croatian demands to start work at the Maslenica bridge.

"Danger" of Islamic Fundamentalism in Bosnia

[Estarriol] Since the end of last year, you, Mr. President, and the Croatian press have talked a great deal about the fundamentalist danger in Bosnia. I have known Bosnia for many years, I know Mr. Izetbegovic, and I have difficulty in finding fundamentalists there. In what does this danger consist?

[Tudjman] President Izetbegovic and most of the Bosnian leaders are not obviously fundamentalists in the sense given to the word in the Middle East, but they are the vanguard of Muslims based on Islam. The Muslims also say that Bosnia should be a democratic state of citizens without ethnic divisions, but this is the same thing that the Yugoslav unitarists did in the framework of the former Yugoslavia. The only workable solution is a confederation of the three constituent nations. Please read what Izetbegovic wrote in his "Islamic declaration" of 1970 and what he repeated in 1990.

[Estarriol] I have read it, and when preparing for this interview this morning, I copied the following quotation: "The Islamic order can only be achieved in countries in which the Muslims represent the majority of the population."

[Tudjman] There you have it! They start from the assumption that they are already the majority.

Skrabalo on Renewal of UNPROFOR Mandate

LD1002235793 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in English 2200 GMT 10 Feb 93

[Text] Foreign Minister Zdenko Skrabalo met today with the heads of the diplomatic corps in Croatia. He presented Croatia's position regarding the extension of UNPROFOR's [UN Protection Force] mandate here, saying it was based on four fundamental principles: the complete and immediate disarmament of all paramilitary forces and militias in UN Protected Areas [UNPA]; the placement of Serbian heavy weapons under effective UN supervision; the voluntary and unconditional return of displaced persons, refugees, and detainees; and the gradual reinclusion of the pink zones and UNPA's into the political, economic, monetary, and legal system of Croatia, where laws guaranteeing the protection of human and minority rights would be strictly enforced. Minister Skrabalo stressed that in the future, Croatia would endeavor to reach lasting peace and stability through negotiations, but he also warned that no solution which disputes the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the country would be acceptable.

Serbs Accuse Croats of 'Ethnic Cleansing'

LD1002172693 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1624 GMT 10 Feb 93

[Report by Sava Jankovic]

[Text] Knin, February 10 (TANJUG)—Around 500 of the 1,300 Serbs have been moved out of Imotska Krajina, a region in the central Dalmatian hinterland, said an information released by the Club of Serbs from Imotska Krajina who live in Belgrade.

Croatian authorities began a new wave of ethnic cleansing and persecution of Serbs in Imotska Krajina early this month when all Serbs who lived in Kraljevici were forced to leave this village, and their houses were plundered and then burned to the ground or mined.

The Serbs who remain in this region rightly fear that they will be physically abused after the return of the fighters of the Third Imotski Battalion and the 115th Imotski Brigade of the Croatian Army, who are currently engaged in the territory of the Republic of Serb Krajina.

The Army of Croatia attacked Krajina on January 22. Krajina, which has a predominantly Serb population, is under protection of the United Nations (U.N.), but Croatia's aggression continues despite two U.N. Security Council resolutions which demanded an end to attacks and return to earlier positions.

The Serbs who still live in Imotska Krajina do not enjoy any human or civil rights—they have lost their jobs, they are abused and persecuted, and are forced to sleep in forests or barns, their hunting rifles have been taken from them.

Serbs who are of age are not issued travelling documents so that they cannot leave "democratic Croatia," and many have been forcibly mobilized into the Croatian Republican Army.

Serbs who left this region said that the Armed Forces of Croatia carried out acts of genocide against the Serb population in Imotska Krajina—Serbs were murdered, massacred, attempts were made on their lives, they were physically abused, robbed, and their property was destroyed.

Last year, Miroslav Loncar, 33, a Serb, was murdered and then massacred, four Serbs were wounded in attempts on their lives, and one Serb and three Serb women were severely abused.

Around 50 Serb houses in the villages of Prolozac, Nebrizevac, Kraljevici, and Dragutinovici were damaged to such an extent that it is no longer possible to live in them, and there are no longer any Serbs in the village of Svib because their houses have been razed.

With the blessing of the official policy of Croatia, all Christian Orthodox churches in Imotska Krajina have been damaged or mined, and many Serb graveyard monuments have been desecrated.

Views of Croatian Muslim Democratic Party Leader

93BA0546E Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 15 Jan 93 p 13

[Commentary by Mirsad Baksic, chairman of the Croatian Muslim Democratic Party: "Trap of the Muslim Nation"]

[Text] There is a fallacy committed in this region, equating religious and national affiliation. If this were not the case, then the existence of two religions in the Croatian nation—Roman Catholic and Muslim—would not result in any confusion whatsoever. This is not a unique situation in terms of the rest of the world. I will note only the case of the German nation, which also belongs to two religions, between whose believers there were serious clashes over the course of history, problems that were ultimately overcome.

Since there have never been any clashes between members of different religious groups within the Croatian nation, the problem of the position of Muslims in Croatia cannot lie in the existence of two religions, but rather in greater Serbian imperialist policy, which is exploiting this circumstance to effect a split.

Previously, that policy attempted to erase the historic memory of the link between Bosnia and Croatia; accusing the Croats of genocide, an effort was made to estrange Bosnian Muslims from Croatia and the Croatian nation. As an alternative, they were offered Yugoslavism, which the Muslims resisted by refusing to commit themselves as a nationality, which is one of the strongest cases of passive resistance ever recorded in history. When it turned out that that method was not going to yield the desired result, greater Serbian policy devised a new trap: the Muslim nation. Many Muslims, among them many intellectuals, believed in this perfidy, but there was also a large number of people, like Pozderac, Dizdarevic, and various other borderland leaders who became Muslims over night, knowing that in that way they would achieve certain political successes. Naturally, it did not even occur to us in the HMDS [Croatian Muslim Democratic Party] to go into someone's personal orientation.

If someone wants to be a Muslim in terms of national affiliation, then we respect that decision. Ultimately, that right is based on all the positive precepts, beginning with UN documents and including Croatian laws.

We as a party have plenty of objections to the work of the Muslim leadership in B-H. First of all, I think that those people bear a great deal of responsibility for the unpreparedness of the Muslim population in B-H for what was prepared for them in Belgrade, and unfortunately, this nation knows a lot about that thanks to its historical experience. That is the first and fundamental objection. There are others, but they relate to everyday politics, so that I do not feel that it is necessary to mention them now.

In the end, everyone in B-H should realize that not one road to Europe passes through Nis or Svetozarevo, but rather through Zagreb, Karlovac.... That is why it is essential to maintain and advance the common purpose of Muslims and Roman Catholics. This is also essential because it is the only way to preserve B-H from greater Serbian imperialist policy.

Whereabouts of Government Officials

93BA0546D Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 15 Jan 93 p 13

[Unattributed report: "Who Is Where"]

[Text] For days now, hungry, frozen, blockaded Sarajevo has patiently awaited the results of the Geneva negotiations. There is less and less hope and belief that peace could come soon to the surrounded city. Sarajevans are angry at the European Community and the United Nations, but also at the Muslim leadership which, according to stories circulating around Sarajevo, is crawling away in all directions. Instead of sharing the fate of their long-suffering people, they have left it up to their subjects to count all the places where high-ranking officials and their families have taken refuge.

Under a decision by the B-H [Bosnia-Hercegovina] government, no one younger than 65 can leave Sarajevo, because they are needed by civil defense. Only special military and civilian commissions can grant permission to leave. Some left before that decision took effect. Before the war, Irfan Ajanovic went to Germany for Ramadan and Bayram, and stayed there. Admittedly, he would not have been able to return initially because of the war, but as a deputy in the B-H Assembly, Sarajevans say, he had the right to request entry into the country. As a spokesman for the SDA [Party of Democratic Action], Irfan Ajanovic is collecting humanitarian aid in Germany and does not come to Sarajevo. Muhamed Cengic, the former vice prime minister of B-H, went to Turkey immediately after the beginning of the war because of "special duties." Before the war, his family headed for Turkey, and afterward he joined them. His wife and entire family are staying at the high-class "Marmar" Hotel, and his sons are attending classes at a Turkish university. He has not been in Sarajevo since the beginning of the war. Also in Turkey is Sadzida Silajdzic, Haris's sister, who is the chief of the B-H office in Turkey. Several members of the Silajdzic family are employed by that office, and his wife and son are also staying there. B-H President Alija Izetbegovic is looking after his family as well. His two sons-in-law left Sarajevo as soon as the war began. Izetbegovic's son remained in Sarajevo, but he, too, recently left the city. His wife, two daughters, and grandchildren are living in a private villa by the sea in Croatia. His daughter-in-law, with her daughter and mother, was living at a Zagreb hotel, but now their whereabouts are unknown. The rumor is circulating around Sarajevo that the majority of ministers in the former B-H government have gone abroad, and did so before the war. They say that there are almost no ministers in the government whose families are in Sarajevo. Ejup Ganic has remained in the city. Sarajevans are especially revolted by the multitude of Bosnia "missionaries" who are performing "special tasks" at the "Palace" and "International" hotels in Zagreb. It is said that not only are their wives accommodated there, but also the wives of their official escorts. Sarajevans wonder who is paying the hotel bills.

President Views Causes, Consequences of War

AU1102085693 Belgrade NIN in Serbo-Croatian 5 Feb 93 pp 16-19

[Interview with Milan Kucan, president of the Republic of Slovenia, by NIN managing editor Djordje Dimitrijevic in Ljubljana on 28 January: "The Situation Is Ripe—for Peace"]

[Text] After he had been reelected president of Slovenia on 6 January, Milan Kucan gave his first exclusive newspaper interview on the territory of the FRY to Belgrade's NIN. With a flawless organization conducted by Mr. Marjan Sifter, chief of the Presidential Cabinet, and in the presence of Mr. Miho Rot from the Slovene Ministry for Information, Kucan talked in his office at 7 Erjavceva Street in Ljubljana on 28 January to the managing editor of NIN.

[Dimitrijevic] Mr. President, the events themselves determine the course of our conversation, and force us to be very current. Quite unexpectedly, it was announced on Wednesday, 26 January that you had departed for Geneva to participate in the Yugoslav peace conference. When one knows that you had been refusing any such participation ever since the London conference, we have to ask you—what brought about such a turn?

[Kucan] On 26 January I was in Geneva, and I was invited not to take part in the conference, but to discuss with the co-chairmen Vance and Owen questions that are, in their opinion, important for the conference, that is to say for ending the war and solving the so-called Yugoslav crisis. Second, I did not refuse to participate in the London conference. We just thought that the London conference left the course of the one in the Hague or in Brussels, and turned into a completely new conference, which became quite obvious as it further progressed.

[Dimitrijevic] What did Vance and Owen ask you, and what did you answer?

[Kucan] There were two questions. First: What is the cause of Yugoslavia's falling apart, and hence what is the cause of the war? And I believe the cause is the very method of solving the Serbian national issue, which was not dealt with according to the Helsinki and Paris documents, but according to the well-known principle "all Serbs in one state." When the attempt to turn Yugoslavia into a Serbian state failed, the idea of creating the so-called Greater Serbia was conceived, which could be realized only through war, by conquering other republics, which is the case with Bosnia-Hercegovina.

And the second question: What is the character of the war that they are trying to stop? The conference views that war—as it looks from outside—as a civil war, as an inter-ethnic or an inter-religious conflict of three entities in Bosnia-Hercegovina. They disregard the fact that it is pure aggression carried out by one country, a war that has been waged from Belgrade against the sovereign and independent state of Bosnia-Hercegovina, which is, no matter what one may think, internationally recognized by the United Nations, and a member of the CSCE. The consequences one draws from the former and the latter attitude are different.

[Dimitrijevic] Of course they are, but... one side claims that the war has been directed from Belgrade, and Belgrade answers that there is no possibility of its influencing the situation. Do the circles claiming this or that, dealing with such questions, have any proofs to support one or the other opinion, or is it pure verbalism?

[Kucan] Well, it might have been verbalism, if there had not been tens of thousands of dead people, it there had not been detention camps, rapes on a massive scale, ethnic cleansings, consultations on the lines Karadzic-Belgrade, Boban-Zagreb. And therefore I said that one should view the situation that we had at the very beginning, because its appearance more corresponds to the former opinion.

[Dimitrijevic] Do you refer to the beginning of the war in Bosnia, or to the beginning of the Yugoslav crisis?

[Kucan] I refer to the beginning of the Yugoslav crisis, and then, of course, to the course of events sliding from Slovenia to Croatia, then from Croatia to Bosnia.

[Dimitrijevic] At the end of November last year it seemed that you acquired the belief that something might be changed, though, because in one interview you stated that "the aims of Dobrica Cosic were not significantly different from those of Slobodan Milosevic, but one should admit that his means were certainly different...." You further said that "Milan Panic spoke of some new things that should be accepted by any responsible politician in the world...." However, one cannot draw the same conclusion from our conversation today.

[Kucan] I still think the same. Unfortunately, the elections answered the question of Panic's influence on Serbian public opinion. The elections must be recognized, of course, and one should also view them as the fact that Panic's views, which, I said, any responsible politician must accept, did not receive support in Serbian policy, or in the Serbian public.

[Dimitrijevic] Since you said that the Serbian elections had given the answer on Panic's question, we have to ask you something else. You expressed your skepticism toward Panic 12 days before the elections. Contrary to the former statement, you said that "the current Serbian policy must be morally defeated, or an alternative capable of defeating the policy of Milosevic and Cosic must be created...." You said further that "the world is mistaken if it believes that Panic could be such an alternative...." There is a certain contradiction in your statements. How do you explain it? And, did you know something more about Panic than the Serbian people did several days before the elections?

[Kucan] Let us make one thing clear: I do not look at names, I look at the politics. It is of no avail that the world condemns Milosevic's policy, if that policy is not condemned by the Serbian people. That is why I said that if one truly wants to overthrow that policy, it has to be morally discredited among the Serbian people first. Because, importing some condemnations that have no real support, and that are not actually understood, is not in the interest of the Serbian people; such practice was tried out many times throughout the world, but it gave no positive results. As for Panic, I observed over five months his political life and existence in Serbia; he was brought, in fact, installed into the Serbian political circumstances. He formally performed the two strongest offices—the prime minister and the defense minister. What he said in those five months, and what I said should be supported was not accomplished. I do not know what is the real strength, the real range of Panic as a politician.... Nevertheless, the results of the elections objectively display the Serbian frame of mind.

[Dimitrijevic] All right, the elections are in the past now, they showed the situation and gave the results as they are, and Serbia finds itself where it is today, speaking in terms of politics. Is there any personality on the Montenegrin or the Serbian scene who could represent, as you say, a desirable alternative to Milosevic and Cosic, and if so, who is that?

[Kucan] You have to consider my fairly weak knowledge of current Serbian affairs and politicians. Nevertheless, I believe in the traditional, sound Serbian democratic being, that will, sooner or later, deliver someone. It could cause quite a discrediting situation if I were to name anybody now, but I think I know who he is.

[Dimitrijevic] You will not tell us? At least off the record....

[Kucan] I shall tell you at the end.

[Dimitrijevic] If that is the state of affairs, we have to ask you if there has ever been in the history of Serbian statehood any "good Serbia" and any "good Serbian policy" that would respond to the ideas of Slovene policy?

[Kucan] You know, I always distinguish Serbia, the Serbian people, from the current Serbian policy. And in view of such an attitude, there is certainly no reason to think that there has never been a Serbian policy acceptable from the Slovene point of view.

[Dimitrijevic] What period would it be?

[Kucan] I refer to all those periods in which Yugoslavia was created, built, strengthened, as a community of equal peoples, and with a supportive feeling for minorities. Unfortunately, all the policies that tried to dodge the principle of national equality, or directly abolish it by voting in the name of the federation, were conceived in Belgrade. Such policies were, of course, not only at the expense of the Slovene people, but—as it proves now, or will prove in the end—also at the expense of their own people. I think the contemporary policy is the one that tried to adapt Yugoslavia to serve Serbian interests, that disregarded the issue of the Vojvodina and Kosovo autonomies in Serbia by arbitrarily altering the Serbian Constitution, thereby leaving unchanged the paragraph in the voting system regarding the Serbian right to have three votes as against the single votes of all other republics.

I was serving in Belgrade at the time, and I interceded to change such relations. They were not good. Perhaps Serbia as a state might have been deceived, but the way of solving that problem was unacceptable for me. At one session of the Central Committee of the Communist Party I said that it was the beginning of the end. After that the Kosovo issue evolved, the miners' strike at the Stari Trg mine occurred. I gave a speech here, in the Cankarjev Dom, and you know very well that I was reproached for saying that in the Stari Trg mine the destiny of Yugoslavia had been determined, but it turned out that I was right. It was not the attitude toward the miners that my statement referred to, it was the principle.

[Dimitrijevic] We are quite sure that it could not have been the attitude toward the miners anyway, because it turned out later that it was some sort of a setup. But we are discussing the principle, not bananas....

[Kucan] The method of solving that problem showed, even if everything had turned out well, that another way of emerging from the crisis should be pursued, and not the one that would preserve Yugoslavia. As you see, that question has remained unresolved until today.

[Dimitrijevic] We shall discuss that matter later. For the time being, let us go back to the fact that you once declared yourself against the restoration of any kind of Yugoslavia, and particularly against the recognition of the FRY.

[Kucan] First of all I have to correct you: I never said that I am against the restoration of Yugoslavia, but that we have to face a reality. And the reality is that Yugoslavia definitely fell apart, and it is senseless to take pains to restore it, which would be unrealistic in the new circumstances, new historic context, and international political conditions. I am not against the recognition of the FRY. However, my attitude is: When the FRY fulfills all the conditions required for international recognition, just like Slovenia did, then there is no reason not to be recognized, not only by Slovenia, but also by other countries. In order to start dealing with each other at all, the first condition must be fulfilled. That is the termination of the war in Bosnia- Hercegovina, the withdrawal of Serbia from that war, and compliance with the principle of equal participation of all former Yugoslav republics in succeeding to our formerly mutual country. Serbia and Montenegro, however, maintain the attitude that they are the carriers of Yugoslav continuity. Thus, of course, one may draw the conclusion that we are the separatists, that all those who want to maintain the continuity of Yugoslavia are actually entitled to set out terms. Obviously, the concept of disjoining that we supported is one thing, and the concept of dissension is another.

[Dimitrijevic] All right, if you cannot accept our calling you an opponent, let us say then, that you are one of those persons who resolutely reject the need to reestablish any economic connections, because you once said that you were "worried by those who wanted to restore the economic area on the territory of former Yugoslavia."

[Kucan] That is true.

[Dimitrijevic] Why?

[Kucan] First, I am sure that after the situation becomes normal, the newborn countries, no matter how many of them there are, will have an interest in mutual cooperation. However, as long as the war lasts, as long as we know what is the cause of it, and even if we remember the Slovene blockade before we declared our independence, the economic interests of Slovenia have to take another direction. The interests for establishing a common market in former Yugoslavia will have to be reduced to the objective interests waiting for political conditions to make possible their revival. And when speaking of reestablishing the economic market in former Yugoslavia, I think that is totally unreal, because one should look upon the entire area of southeastern Europe.

Within the Geneva conference I put forward a proposal for organizing a conference on reestablishing that economic market, and I said that such an idea should be, of course, checked out in view of its possible effects. Anyhow, Austria, Hungary, Romania, all the way to the south, which is to say the states of the former Yugoslavia, and then Bulgaria, Albania, Greece, and Turkey should take part in that conference. And just because of the potential significance of that idea, I underlined that, first and foremost, the political conditions for the termination of the war need to be created, otherwise the idea could easily be discredited, and once that happens, you know yourself how hard it is to give it another chance.

[Dimitrijevic] However, you gave a statement to the Vienna STANDARD that there are "still some good prospects for reestablishing economic cooperation with Serbia...?"

[Kucan] What I meant is that our two economies are still compatible. If you look at the structures of the Serbian and Slovene economies (I do not know if the war has changed this), say in the mid-1980, you will see that these two were compatible economies, as distinct from the, for instance, Slovene-Croatian economic relations, which have always been competitive. Normalization of political conditions will show if those structures are still compatible, and if there still exists an interest that cannot be politically controlled. Both the social and the economic systems are changed, thus only what the market approves or demands will be realized.

[Dimitrijevic] In order to make you see that we are not simply people who bring up unpleasant matters, here is what a Slovene (Milan Dolgan, KNJIZEVNE NOVINE, December 1992) says: "Slovene policy"—the author refers to the period of the Yugoslav disintegration—"did not do anything to make the remaining parts of Yugoslavia stick together, and not leave a desert behind it, but,—in order to accomplish its goal as easily and as fast as possible—deliberately shook the whole state. It also inspired other republics, even Kosovo, to demand their independence." However, you said on one occasion: "Kosovo is a part of Serbia, and no possibility of changing borders applies to the ethnic Albanians, nor shall we ever recognize it." What is your comment on Dolgan's opinion, and is the latter your decided attitude toward the Kosovo issue?

[Kucan] I have not met Mr. Dolgan, however, I accept his opinion, for that is probably how he saw Slovene policy. As a participant in that part of our history, I made efforts to make Yugoslavia finish its process of disjoining with dignity. You can also remember all those proposals of ours that suggested an asymmetrical confederation, then a confederation of this or that type, or a conversion of Yugoslavia to an economic community of sovereign states of the former Yugoslavia. During the Hague and the Brussels conferences, we participated in creating the concept of the so-called general plan initiated by Lord Carrington, that was based on the right of every republic to determine its position as regards future connections—either to go for complete independence, or for forming a federation, or a confederation with the other republics.

However, none of these proposals were endorsed. Some of the concepts were accepted in Zagreb, some of them later in Sarajevo and Skopje, but in Titograd, which is now called Podgorica, and in Belgrade—never. Their answer was: We endorse only the concept of dissension, where we set the terms under which you can separate. And that, of course, does not respond to the original Yugoslav concept, for the original Yugoslavia was created through "uniting," and even the king did not annex states, but joined them together. Thus the view that Dolgan stated—that we did nothing but break Yugoslavia into pieces—is not true, as far as official Slovene policy is concerned. Perhaps there were certain individuals who did—I do not question that, with some of them I even had conflicts here—but when speaking in terms of Slovene policy, I believe that our official policy is the relevant one.

As for your second question regarding Kosovo, I still have the same opinion. Kosovo is a part of the Serbian state, and at the time when I said that, it was the Serbian republic. The Serbian state and the Serbian people have to solve the question of their minorities—and these are above all ethnic Albanians, ethnic Hungarians, and Muslims—according to the European standards: a high promotion of their rights and the protection of their autonomy. Perhaps only then will the pressure of the ethnic Albanians aspiring for separation decrease, because the main reason now for such a pressure is the total discrimination against them, or as politicians usually put it, "turning Kosovo Albanians into second-class citizens."

I even stressed that before, because when speaking of the Serbian national question, I am completely aware of its complexity, and I think that it can be solved only by abiding by principles of the Paris document. This means that the present borders have to be recognized—of course, borders have created minorities throughout Europe—however, what actually reveals democracy, or lack of democracy, of one state or policy is the actual degree of protection and minority rights in national states.

[Dimitrijevic] Mr. President, speaking of Kosovo, don't you think there might be a minor question of cause and effect? At one time the ethnic Albanians enjoyed all rights, which, depending on state possibilities, were observed according to the highest possible standards, and then despite all that they expressed their claim "Kosovo—Republic." Thus we ask ourselves, what is the cause there, and what is the effect? What is the older of the two? Do you think it is the ethnic Albanians who have been discriminated against since the very beginning, or is it rather the Serbs, who were not allowed to return to Kosovo after the war [World War II]? Isn't it true that at one time the ethnic Albanians held all the political and economic power in Kosovo, and then they began to want to establish that power officially?

[Kucan] Well, it is not a minor question, it is a major one. Of course, as for the majority-minority relation, my view is that one should discuss the question of actual equality with minorities, ask them how they feel. I maintain this position also because of the issue of the Slovene minorities in Austria, Italy, and Hungary. A majority shows its democratic disposition if it is prepared to offer a minority, simply because it is a minority, more rights than it demands for itself. It is certainly a principle; however, reality demands that the principle be implemented. But, when you ask me if there were times when the ethnic Albanians held the entire power in Kosovo—yes, there were such times. However, the Kosovo issue is quite old. I have never supported the concept "Kosovo—Republic," but I have always been convinced that the problem of the Kosovo Albanians, within Serbia, can be resolved only by the ethnic Albanians and Serbs. If they are ready for it, and why they were not ready in certain periods, or if they were incapable of doing it, that is another matter. There were times when the issue was supported and stimulated from abroad. And it was probably unconsciously stimulated within the context of the then Yugoslav inner-political relations, because the ethnic Albanians were sometimes used as a means of manipulation. Nevertheless, everything ought to be determined by a historical analysis for each historical period.

However, no matter what we think of it now, the situation continues to be bad; it is a new explosive potential core of a new conflict. In my talks with Albanian President Sali Berisha I saw that he is aware of how explosive the situation is, and that he does not want to push Albania into the conflict. Therefore, if it is possible to solve the problem within Serbia in the way I mentioned, I think it would be the most agreeable way for Albania as well.

[Dimitrijevic] Did you also discuss the demilitarization of Kosovo with Berisha?

[Kucan] Yes, we discussed it, but having the demilitarization of Kosovo alone is quite wrong. In that region of southeast Europe so many arms have been piled up over the years that the way one should look at the matter, the only possible way, is to think of some demilitarization, or at least limitation of arms, in all countries of that region. It would be carried out according to the type of arms, that is to say the caliber, the effective strength of their armies, and so forth.

[Dimitrijevic] What countries do you mean when you say "in all countries of that region"?

[Kucan] It is approximately the same group of countries I mentioned when explaining the economic federation. That is to say, the countries we usually refer to when we say "the southeast of Europe," although there are some border countries whose reaction to such a reference I am not sure, beginning with Slovenia, Hungary, and also Romania. However, such a reference is acceptable in view of some overall relations in Europe, where there are no clear divisions any more, but rather some border areas, with the aforementioned countries making them up. For instance, I see Slovenia in the Central European region, but our interests, particularly because a great deal of traffic between Europe and Asia passes through Slovenia, are also oriented toward the regions behind our southern borders. Thus, when speaking of demilitarization, I hope that it will come about within the context of arms limitation in the whole of Europe, in the context of creating a system of collective defense and security in Europe.

[Dimitrijevic] Slovenia certainly could not "experience Kosovo" because it is not that structured in terms of national minorities. Yet, according to the 1991 statistics, 47,000 Serbs live in Slovenia. What will happen with the Serbs that have lived and worked here for a long time, and still decide not to take Slovene citizenship?

[Kucan] In principle, that question has been solved. Here they have the status of foreigners, and can work if they have a work permit. Of course, the permit is issued on demand, and there are conditions that must be fulfilled, as well as the law regulating the matter. We think that Slovenia has good reason to proceed with such regulations for foreigner status, which is known in Europe as a "Rostock syndrome," denoting animosity toward anyone who is not of the same nationality. I believe our law on citizenship is a liberal and democratic law—it was so designated by the Council of Europe—and I think that its basic concept does not need to be revised.

However, some specific procedures regarding authorization of citizenship should be revised.

[Dimitrijevic] Slovenia is, however, threatened by another danger. We refer to the situation of the last century, when Slovenes were not able to resist a strong process of Germanization. In that period tens of thousands of Slovenes simply disappeared in Koruska, Stajerska, and Kranjska; and of the 519 secondary schools that existed then, none was in the Slovene language....

[Kucan] You know, for such a small nation as the Slovene nation, living next to large neighbors, such a danger always exists. Our national identity has been objectively endangered, and one must constantly be careful to balance relations with our Latin, German, and Slav neighbors. However, if I can simplify the matter, and put it in a nutshell, then I would say that we did not withstand the danger of becoming Serbs to yield to the danger of becoming Germans or Italians. Historical experience shows that whenever a people is exposed to direct pressure on its existence, its existence grows as a consequence. And it is the job of politics always to be alert, to be ready to resist the various perils imposed by various sides.

[Dimitrijevic] Is Slovenia going to be exposed to the even stronger pressure of capital than it used to be before in the former Yugoslavia?

[Kucan] Well, I do not think so. The pressure in Yugoslavia was rather of a political nature, and, as for Germany, there is no such danger. At least for the time being there is no danger of being exposed to anything, because the political circumstances are not settled, let alone the pressure of capital. In normal circumstances, when capital from Germany, Italy, and the rest of the world—for capital has no nationality—starts flowing in, that will be a new challenge for us, how to preserve our national identity in these new circumstances.

[Dimitrijevic] Mr. President, you have often described yourself as "a worried optimist." By one definition, an "optimist is someone who believes that what must happen will be delayed." What is it that must happen, and is still delayed?

[Kucan] The end of the war.

[Dimitrijevic] Let us put it another way: What is it that did not have to happen, and still did happen?

[Kucan] The war.

[Dimitrijevic] How is the war to be stopped?

[Kucan] I think the situation now is ripe for negotiations, because Serbia is in the best position to replace the war with negotiations. Serbia has reached the point it wanted to reach—I shall use simpler language, and you might get me wrong, but it is the best way of explaining things—and if the war continues, Serbia cannot go any further. Because, if Serbia sets out on genuine Croatian territory, territory where the population is mixed, there would be no justification for such a move. On the other hand, the Muslims have also come into possession of some arms, they have organized themselves—and the fortunes of war might be reversed. So, it might start with the Serbs saying: "We are here, we are ready to negotiate, gentlemen, we are even ready to withdraw...." If they return one third of the conquered territory, the other two-thirds could be connived at, forgotten; this is how the pragmatic view of the world looks like. However, the situation is such that the wolf has suddenly turned into a lamb, and vice versa: he who was for war, is now for peace, and "the others" are not for peace any more.... For, if you were to ask me about the recent Maslenica events—this might sound cynical to you—they only show that Tudjman was too late in realizing that war is approved. He has only just realized that war is approved, because the world has no mechanism to prohibit war....

[Dimitrijevic] Excuse me, Mr. President, but we have to express a certain doubt regarding your claim that everything would gradually calm down if the Serbs relinquished some territory. The Croats want the "entire territory" back. Tudjman has said that many times.

[Kucan] It is too late. The UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] will have their mandate renewed, although it is of no great significance. But you are familiar with the fate of Cyprus: the Turks came, the UNPROFOR came, they have been there for 20 years, and the occupation became actually the recognized state of affairs. The Yugoslavia peace talks must show some results now, which is to say results that can be accomplished: starting from the present conditions, and not trying to go back to past events.

[Dimitrijevic] Now we have Knin, the Serbian Republic of Krajina....

[Kucan] In my view, Tudjman should not have abolished in the constitution the status of Serbs in Croatia. At the time, the constitution should have been updated and more skillfully formulated. Words are nothing, but sometimes they are worse than bullets. Of course, in that Croat nationalistic manipulation the Serbs anticipated some steps that might follow: now they have abolished our rights, and there is that Ustasha syndrome, the syndrome of war, genocide, and everything—all these can be irrational things, but unfortunately they have an immense impact. I told Tudjman even then: "President, I am not sure that what you have done is right. True, it is Croatian territory; no one questions that; it is indisputable. However, there is a question if it is ever going to be Croatian territory again." In the region around Pakrac, there might be some changes, it is within the Croatian encirclement, but east Slavonia, Knin—that is doubtful. Perhaps the border can be changed, I mean Obrovac, Lika, whatever...but without a new war it is impossible to bring about that change. Therefore I said: Even if Tudjman wants to regain these territories by war, it is because he thinks that war is approved. However, the war will only be allowed until at least a smallest sign of peace appears. Not further.

[Dimitrijevic] You promised to reveal one thing at the end: Who is the person on the FRY political scene who might be able, as you said, to represent a successful alternative to the present political leadership?

[Kucan] I underline again, I do not want to reveal any name, but in any case that person is somebody from the spiritual circle created by former Serbian liberals from the time of Marko Nikezic, Latinka Perovic....

Parties View Accords With Liberal Democrats

AU1002090293 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 23 Jan 93 p 1

[Report by Matjaz Erznoznik and Marko Jakopec: "Slovene Christian Democrats and United List Pleased With Signed Agreement"]

[Text] Ljubljana, 22 Jan—At the news conferences they held today, the representatives of the Slovene Christian Democrats and the United List spoke separately about the agreements they had signed with the Liberal Democrats. Their opinions basically differed about the equality of the two agreements.

Ivo Bizjak, deputy chairman of the Slovene Christian Democrats, said that the two agreements are not equal. According to him, the Liberal Democrats signed a coalition agreement with the Christian Democrats in the true sense of the word, but the agreement they signed with the parties of the United List is about including ministers in the government. Bizjak's comment on the comparatively large number of ministers belonging to the parties in the United List who would join the government on the basis of the agreement signed with the Liberal Democratic Party was that this is the price the Christian Democrats had to "pay" for the real coalition agreement between the Liberal Democratic Party and the Slovene Christian Democrats.

Representatives of the parties, members of the United List, believe the agreement signed with the prime minister comprehensively establishes relations between the entire United List and the prime minister designate. They see in the text of the agreement the guarantee for ensuring the equal influence of the United List regarding both substance and form, because, in their opinion, the agreement also settles the program framework of cooperation with emphasis on questions that will make it possible for political, economic, and social issues favored by the United List to be implemented. According to Dr. Rade Bohinc, the agreement clearly defines the actual mutual cooperation of the United List and the Liberal Democratic Party and not only conditions for cooperation. Therefore, the text may be considered a coalition agreement. In Dr. Rade Bohinc's opinion, a special question that might complicate the implementation of the agreement is the method of reaching agreement between Dr. Drnovsek and the fourth partner in the government, the Social Democrats. It would suit the United List if a separate agreement is signed with the Social Democrats rather that the existing agreement between the Liberal Democratic Party and the Slovene Christian Democrats being joined.

Federal

Kontic To Begin Consultations on Cabinet

LD1002165893 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1554 GMT 10 Feb 93

[Text] Belgrade, February 10 (TANJUG)—Federal Premier-designate Radoje Kontic will begin consultations on the program and the composition of his government on Thursday [11 February], TANJUG learned.

President of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia Dobrica Cosic on Tuesday nominated Kontic, 56, as premier-designate of the new Federal Government. Kontic is vice-premier in the government of outgoing Prime Minister Milan Panic.

Kontic has already announced that he will hold consultations with representatives of political parties, businessmen, economists and scientists.

Under the Yugoslav Constitution, the premier-designate is obliged to present to federal parliament his program and the structure of his government and then deputies of both houses of parliament hold a secret vote separately. It has not been announced yet when Kontic will address parliament.

Kontic met with Panic on Wednesday and discussed changes in the government, the government cabinet said.

Panic, a Serb-born United States (U.S.) businessman who came into office in mid-July last year, said he was pleased with the naming of Kontic, and promised all his help during the period of transition.

Presidents of five of the six deputy groups in federal parliament approved Cosic's nomination of Kontic during talks with the federal president during the past two days.

The reformist Democratic Party of Vojvodina on Wednesday said that it congratulates Kontic on his nomination, but that it has reservations about his future powers. The party believes that the Federal Government has lost much of its powers because they have been transferred to the republican governments of Serbia and Montenegro.

Almost all businessmen and economists who were interviewed by TANJUG on Wednesday approved of the nomination of Kontic.

President of the Chamber of Commerce of Belgrade Branislav Vujinovic said that busnissmen expected the new premier to appoint experts for certain departments who will be more serious in tackling hitherto ignored economic problems.

Professor at the Faculty of Economics of the University of Belgrade Dr. Mladjen Kovacevic said he doubted that Kontic would be able to make up a successful team because parties in parliament would probably disagree about his choice of ministers.

Government Orders Release of Romanian Barges

LD1102144893 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1215 GMT 11 Feb 93

[Text] Belgrade, 11 Feb (TANJUG)—The Federal Government has decided to order Yugoslavia's port officers to allow the blockaded Romanian ships to continue their journey along our part of the Danube, TANJUG has learned from the Federal Ministry for Transport and Communications.

Five Romanian ships and 15 barges were seized after their documentation and the goods they were carrying were inspected. This was due to a misunderstanding between representatives of the ports and the shipowners, the Federal Ministry for Transport and Communications says.

Serbian, Montenegro Leaders Hold Joint Meeting

LD1002214193 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2025 GMT 10 Feb 93

[Text] Belgrade, Feb 10 (TANJUG)—The leaders of Serbia and Montenegro (which together make the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia) on Wednesday [10 February] declared they were basically committed to ending the crisis in former Yugoslavia by political means.

"Those forces, which encourage the armed conflicts in Bosnia-Hercegovina and the Krajinas should be forced to halt their attacks and agree to political talks as the best way for dealing with questions outstanding," it was heard at a session of the Serbian and Montenegrin leaderships in Belgrade.

The talks were attended by Presidents Slobodan Milosevic of Serbia and Momir Bulatovic of Montenegro, the republican prime ministers and parliament presidents and Yugoslav Premier-designate Radoje Kontic.

The two republics' leaderships share identical stands on all major international and internal political issues, said a statement released after the session.

They said that peace was in the best interest of the Yugoslav people and that the common Yugoslav state was of vital importance to Serbia and Montenegro.

They discussed the economic situation and came to the conclusion that a concerted action of the republican and federal governments was necessary to bridle the inflation and ensure the country's economic recovery, particularly in shoring up the crumbling standards of living.

Although the UN-imposed economic blockade of Yugoslavia has cramped the economy, the economic policy must take into account the necessity of development, for which reason it is vital to maintain production also under the conditions of sanctions, it was heard at the session.

The stability of the legal system and a strict respect for the law are necessary preconditions for a successful operation of the economic system and the protection of the security, order and constitutional rights and freedoms of the citizens, the statement said.

Government Temporarily Lifts Oil Import Controls

LD1002144293 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1238 GMT 10 Feb 93

[Text] Belgrade, 10 Feb (TANJUG)—The Federal Government, hoping to ease oil imports, has decided to allow temporarily the completely free import of oil and oil-based products, TANJUG has learned today from sources in the Federal Ministry for Economic Relations with foreign countries.

In this latest decree the government has abolished—through March of 1993—all import quotas on this important raw material. In doing so, the government has temporarily abandoned its strategic policy covering the purchase of vital goods such as oil. Obviously, the government has taken into consideration the very difficult conditions covering oil purchases today.

Meanwhile, should the UN embargo or present unfavorable conditions ease or even be lifted, the government stands ready to reintroduce the quota policy as the normal import policy for oil, the ministry notes.

Commentary Views Shifts in Internal Policy

AU0902201093 Belgrade NEDELJNA BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 6-7 Feb 93 p 3

[Commentary by Djoko Kesic: "Requiem for the Prime Minister"]

[Text] After an adventurous and dramatic six-month trip into politics, the businessman Milan Panic is resigning as the prime minister of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. He is leaving with one of his delicate and controversial ideas—he is going to establish, as he says, a Balkan economic association—and with the promise that he will support democratic changes in Yugoslavia. The party in power and its sworn allies (SRS) [Serbian Radical Party] are seeing him off in accordance with their principles: as a "traitor", a "CIA agent" and an "outcast of the Serbian people...." The Serbian opposition is seeing its presidential candidate off with the taste of deceit and a somewhat more realistic consciousness about its own helplessness. In his last news conference Panic bade farewell to reporters with a general observation: "I think that I have successfully accomplished my task."

Panic really successfully accomplished his task, not only for himself, for Yugoslavia, and for Serbia, but also for Slobodan Milosevic's political career. He did not want to do that, but it happened that way. When he became prime minister, the sword of an international military intervention, a total blockade, and a sanitary cordon was hanging over the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. Panic and President Cosic made the impression in the world that there was a new democratic peacemaking bloc in Yugoslavia as opposed to Milosevic's hard political line. During his first four months in office Panic gave over 700 interviews all over the world and met with the most influential leaders. Accompanied by Cosic, he succeeded in breaking the sonic barrier of the one-sided information blockade about the essence of the Yugoslav tragedy.

With the political changes in the world the position of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia nevertheless improved considerably. Because of these circumstances, the international political position of the Serbs in Bosnia-Hercegovina also changed significantly. Panic's defeat in the elections last December provided the first real legitimacy for Milosevic and his government. In this way Panic actually helped Milosevic. What will the role of the future prime minister be?

It seems that the importance of this role was already announced by Radoman Bozovic, the new chairman of the Chamber of Citizens. Several hours before he was officially elected chairman of the lower house, he had moved into the office of the prime minister in the Yugoslav Parliament! If we consider the fight over the offices in the Federal Parliament, does this mean that the future prime minister will sit in the corner of a corridor? To a certain extent Bozovic follows the example of his predecessor, Mr. Jugoslav Kostic. As the chairman of the Chamber of Citizens, Kostic can only be remembered by the fact that he had his office in the Federation Palace furnished with the exclusive furniture taken from the office of the chairman of the Federal Parliament.

Bozovic's appointment as chairman of the Chamber of Citizens is a real sensation. May we conclude that Milosevic wants to make a mighty parliament and a weak government in these unstable times? Mr. Ernest Hemingway ("The Snows of Kilimanjaro") already answered this question: "He followed the wrong trail."

A scenario with this cornerstone can be completed as follows: Milosevic wants to make the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia a federation with the presidential system and Serbia and Montenegro republics with parliamentary democracies. This means that constitutional changes are to be expected, which will place all important national matters under the competence of the president. Guess who will be the new president of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia! By the time these changes are carried out, and that is by next summer, Cosic can sit quietly in his office, regardless of Seselj's [Serbian Radical Party leader] masquerade.

Possibility of Nuclear War in Balkans Examined

93BA0537A Belgrade NIN in Serbo-Croatian 22 Jan 93 p 11

[Article by Borislav Solesa: "Dangerous Goods From the Atomic Flea Market"]

[Text] It is calculated that on the territory of the former Soviet Union alone there are about 22,000 nuclear warheads, and these weapons are also possessed by the United States, Great Britain, France, China, India, and South Africa. It is not out of the question that some world arms merchant not overly scrupulous about to whom he sells his goods might in spite of world safeguards deliver to the belligerents in our region slightly older models of this dangerous weapon. Unfortunately, it seems that some of the Balkan belligerents would be ready for even that insanity.

When Radovan Karadzic declared in an interview in GLOBUS of Zagreb that they, i.e., the Serbs in B-H [Bosnia-Hercegovina], actually do not have nuclear weapons, but that today it is no problem at all to obtain them on the international market, it caused a kind of consternation. Analyses began, first from Slovenia as to whether the Serbs in B-H and their confreres in Krajina could hit the Krsko Nuclear Power Plant (a direct hit of the nuclear power plant would actually arm the nuclear bomb of Central Europe). Teodor Gersak (who has the reputation of an astute military analyst not only of the Slovenian situation, but who also has an insight into the entire Yugoslav military scene) immediately declared that "the Serbs do not have weapons to hit the Krsko Nuclear Power Plant."

Dangerous visions among the South Slavs awakened some in Romania as well, and ROMANIA LIBERA, in an attempt to figure out the persistence of the Serbs in Yugoslavia, B-H, and Krajina, concludes: "There is more and more talk about military intervention against the Serbs in B-H, and even against Serbia, but the United Nations, EC, and NATO hesitate to carry out that threat. The reason? The granting of preference to a political solution or is it something else? It has been said that Serbia possesses nuclear weapons." This was followed by a quote from Radovan Karadzic, leader of the Bosnian Serbs, in the Greek weekly PARIDIKI where in answer to one question he says that an attack on the Serbs in B-H and Serbia would signify commencement of a third world war, and in connection with the question of whether he had nuclear weapons he said (repeating what he had already told GLOBUS): "Even if we do not, they are not difficult to obtain on the international market."

The Romanian newspaper relates this to the statement by Colonel General Zitova Panic, chief of the General Staff of the Army of Yugoslavia, to the effect that Yugoslavia is working to create a missile system with a range of 1,000 km.

MAGYAR SO of Novi Sad made a serious contribution to this topic by carrying the opinions of experts. Bela Kovac, who worked for years in the Vinca Institute, and has been employed for 25 years in a nuclear consulting firm in Ohio, believes "that Yugoslavia is unable to produce atomic weapons, unless it managed to get something in the last four or five years." In the former Yugoslavia, he said, nuclear weapons could theoretically have been made only at Krsko and Vinca. The nuclear power plant is now in Slovenia, and at the institute near Belgrade only one of the two reactors is operating, and it "is not equipped to make atomic bombs." In the opinion of Ferenc Kermendi, a staff associate of the research center in the School of Engineering at Belgrade University, our country does not possess the technical capabilities for the production of atomic weapons. He says that this requires more than just obtaining the raw material, as confirmed by the example of Iraq, which for all of 10 years has been doing its best to create a "secret weapon."

Thus, this statement by Dr. Karadzic has raised a very apocalyptic question: Could parties to the Balkan conflict who have lost their head obtain atomic weapons and plunge humanity into a catastrophe of immeasurable proportions?

In view of the social volcano in the former Soviet Union, which is boiling with dissatisfaction, disappointed hopes, and hard life, it is not out of the question that if the Yugoslav war continues with foreign intervention, say, by the Islamic countries, someone might offer the Serbs nuclear weapons "under the table." The one who would offer that, getting around the strict international atomic monitoring, would have to find someone among the Serbs crazy enough not to realize that "anyone who resorts to nuclear weapons is certain to die of the poison mushroom."

It is true that arms merchants are not terribly scrupulous about to whom they sell arms, and many of them are arming all the parties to the conflict. The more business they do, the more money they make. According to recent reports, almost everything can be contracted for through Prague and Ljubljana, with no formalities as to what nationality, policy, or state the customer represents. On that market or some other, the Serbs, but also other interested parties, can probably purchase a nuclear bomb from an old series. It is calculated that there are 22,000 nuclear warheads in Ukraine, Russia, and Kazakhstan alone. The United States, Great Britain, France, China, India, and South Africa also possess nuclear weapons.

PRAVDA of Moscow says that the Serbs are not the only ones who might be involved when it warned in an article on 19 January of this year that Croatia wants to build an atomic bomb at any price and has assistance and support of certain Western countries in that project. Supposedly, the first information related to preparations concerning that strange effort came from the Rudjer Boskovic Atomic Research Institute in Zagreb. In its effort to document this assertion, PRAVDA says that a close collaborator of Franjo Tudjman, Hrvoje Sarinic, an engineer, has worked in atomic energy laboratories in the Republic of South Africa and later became the Croatian prime minister who worked very hard to get a nuclear power plant built in Slovenia on the Danube [as published] (those electric power plants are the source of raw materials for nuclear weapons).

PRAVDA also writes about the international scandal that broke out when the police of Germany, Austria, and

Switzerland arrested 19 members of an international atomic Mafia during a raid in Munich. They were found to possess more than 2 kg of enriched uranium ready to be sent to Zagreb. The band was headed by Josip Vidic, a 50-year-old Catholic priest and Croatian emigre. In reprinting foreign sources, PRAVDA presented their assertion that on the basis of these and other indications it can be said that Croatia "at any price wants to create an atomic bomb" taking advantage of the vicinity of Vienna, where the International Atomic Energy Agency has its headquarters, by way of support in theory, and smuggling from the former USSR, by way of Poland, the Czech Republic, and Slovakia, as a supply channel.

Expert Gives Warning of Stealth Technology

93BA0537B Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 21 Jan 93 p 11

[Interview with Major Radoman Mladjenovic, retired, Air Force and Air Defense, by Zorica Miladinovic; place and date not given: "There Is No Defense Against 'Invisible' Airplanes"]

[Text] Representatives of the Army of Yugoslavia [VJ] are saying more and more frequently and loudly that we are completely capable of successfully resisting "any aggressor" in case of a possible military intervention. Following the most recent American military intervention against Iraq, however, ordinary people are becoming more dubious. Radoman Mladjenovic, a major retired from the RV i PVO [Air Force and Air Defense], where he was a pilot, who recently took his master's degree on the B-2 nuclear bomber, the American "camouflage miracle" manufactured with "stealth" technology, says in an interview with BORBA that there is no successful defense against the Stealth airplane, which has just been used in Iraq.

[Miladinovic] What characteristics make it possible for Stealth airplanes to be invisible?

[Mladjenovic] The Americans have been working on the program of the Stealth airplane, the so-called Black Program, since 1980 (at that time, only 2 percent of the congressmen knew that it existed). Its existence was made public through the "promotion" of the B-2 nuclear bomber at a California airfield, when this "camouflage miracle" was presented to some 50 honored guests. The F-117 A ("polished diamond") recently (13 January) operated in Iraq; observers from the ground sometimes describe it as a UFO [unidentified flying object]; it is based in Great Britain, but is very easily based in Saudi Arabia as well. These planes are made of a composite material which "absorbs" and "passes" electromagnetic radar waves. The Delta wings conceal its tail. It has powerful ceramic engines which are so configured that the plane does not emit any infrared radiation, and its flight is silent. These characteristics allow it to be completely invisible or at best barely visible to radar systems, and it penetrates a PVO system unhindered. These airplanes usually go first, operate against missile systems used to defend a particular region or facility and make it possible for the aircraft that follow to "do their job." Because radars are the "eyes" of the PVO, it is clear that in this case they are blind.

[Miladinovic] Would these planes also be used in a possible military intervention against Bosnia?

[Mladjenovic] If there is military intervention against Bosnia, I am certain that the Stealth planes will be used. First, they might use the Black Rose, which is able to conduct reconnaissance and detect all radar frequencies, even when they are in "passive mode," and to "transmit the picture" to the command post (even the Pentagon can get it by satellite). After that, it is likely that the Stealth bombers would operate against missile systems defending airfields or areas in Bosnia. I suppose that if the world decided on that kind of intervention, they would operate against objectives in Bosnia from the Aviano base in Lombardy and from aircraft carriers in the Adriatic. I further assume that they would first operate against the airfield in Banja Luka and afterward against artillery and missile positions around Sarajevo. The Serbian Republic would be left largely without an air force, missile systems, and some of the artillery weapons. In the FRY [Federal Republic of Yugoslavia], should there be military intervention, the Stealth planes would probably operate against the airfields at Batajnica, Pristina, Kraljevo, and Nis. Without wanting to frighten anyone, because I am talking about the hypothetical situation of a military attack, it should be said that successful defense against planes of this kind is not possible either in B-H [Bosnia-Hercegovina] or in Yugoslavia.

[Miladinovic] How realistic, then, are the publicly expressed assessments of military officials, including General Panic, that we are able to repel any attack?

[Mladjenovic] It is true that we have a tough PVO system, especially around Belgrade, but it can be overpowered by an increased density of flights of Stealth and other aircraft. No one can guarantee the public that a city or portion of the country is absolutely secure. With a tough system of passive defense, using primary, reserve, or false firing positions, we can protect some of the missile batteries against bombardment. We might protect, say, a missile base by emitting electromagnetic energy from some old radar. But as soon as we activate the real missile battery, its frequency would be picked up, and missiles could operate against it. At the same time, there is also the system of active defense, which presupposes using radars to detect Stealth aircraft. The Americans and Russians have been working on this for quite some time now, and radars of this kind do exist. However, their detection range is still quite small, so that it does not facilitate complete "fire preparation" of PVO for counteraction. I do not know whether our army has such radar equipment.

[Miladinovic] Instead of the excessively optimistic assessments of Yugoslav defensive capability, according to what you say, would it not be more worthwhile to have the complete truth about this?

[Mladjenovic] The public ought to be told the real situation so as to be completely prepared for every wartime situation, including the hypothetical situation about which there has been so much recent talk. It is not capitulation to say openly that there are those who are stronger than we are. It is an objective assessment that there is no successful defense against "invisible" aircraft. In case of intervention, Yugoslavia's RV i PVO would be destroyed for the next 20 to 30 years. All of these assessments, however, can be prevented and averted if we conduct a peaceful policy, to which we committed ourselves recently in Geneva before the eyes of the entire world. We can get what we want through a reasonable policy far from the war option. Peace and a peaceful policy are our best defense.

Federal Trade Minister on 'Price Explosion'

93BA0549C Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 25 Jan 93 p 13

[Article by Bojana Jager: "Dr. Branko Maricic: Facing Price Explosion"]

[Text] *An inflation rate of 291.3 percent has carried over into this year, which means in practice that we would have that percentage of prices even if nothing became more expensive in 1993, which is naturally impossible. Unfortunately, the growth of inflation is accelerating based on what has happened over the first 20 days in January as well, and it is estimated that inflation this month will come to between 65 and 70 percent, says Federal Minister for Trade Dr. Branko Maricic.*

In his words, we are facing a price explosion, which is a consequence of the fact that there was explicit regulation in the area of prices during the last months of last year, which dampened their rise only in the short term, but also led to a deepening of price disparities. Now that a somewhat more liberal regime has been adopted in the republics (some prices were transferred from controls to a regime involving agreements), there has suddenly been a more rapid growth in manufacturer prices. This will be reflected in a rise in retail prices as early as next month, Dr. Maricic predicts.

"The liberalization of prices (right now, around 39 percent of prices in Serbia are still subject to controls) is a welcome move, but it is late in coming. Especially since a number of products where the domestic supply is adequate should not have even been under regulatory control. Sugar and cooking oil are an example of this; because of pricing there are artificial shortages, and producers are now demanding a sharp increase in prices in order to recoup their losses. These products are in adequate supply, but they will be sold at higher prices," Dr. Maricic says.

Among other things that will inevitably cause a new acceleration of the inflationary spiral, Dr. Maricic mentions the January price increase in those very products and services (electricity, derivatives, transportation, PTT [post, telegraph, and telephone], etc.) that directly affect the rise of all other prices. In addition, too much money continues to "chase" fewer and fewer goods, meaning that there are inadequate controls over the issue of money on all levels. Inflation is also being stoked by the interregnum until the formation of new republican and federal governments.

"Depending on the duration of the blockade, the market supply situation will be based to a greater or lesser degree on what can be supplied domestically and will suffer from a lack of product diversity. This is already evident with textiles, leather footwear, electric appliances, cosmetics, hygiene supplies, and similar consumer goods. Admittedly, the market is being supplemented rather successfully by private commerce and small shops. As far as food products are concerned, with which the domestic market is relatively well supplied, if the blockade continues the problems here could intensify during the second half of this year.

What authority in price policy does the Federal Government even have, and what should be done this year to possibly calm inflation?

"There is still a trinity in price policy. Instead of 90 percent of prices being under the authority of the federation, it now concerns itself only with protecting the prices of agricultural products and of medicine. Everything else continues to be under the authority of the republics. For now, Montenegro is demonstrating a greater willingness to transfer this authority to the federal level than Serbia is, which makes such a move conditional on the adoption of a macroeconomic program. The program that was offered up last year was criticized, and the outgoing federal government was unable to enact a new one. But despite this, the federal government is working on its proposals for macroeconomic policy, which it will present to the public. What is essential, regardless of the change of government, is the need to return to the constitutional authorities and the concept of a unified economic policy, for a unified market and economic region in this country."

Chief of General Staff Discusses Conflict

PM1002123193 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 9 Feb 93 p 3

[Interview with Colonel General Zivota Panic, chief of General Staff of Federal Republic of Yugoslavia Armed Forces, by Colonel Aleksandr Oliynik; place and date not given: ""Our Army's Fate Is Inseparable From Fate of Serbs and Montenegrins""]

[Excerpts] [Oliynik] Mr. General, could you say what the new army of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia [FRY] is like and what its main tasks today are?

[Panic] In connection with the fact that the territory of the present FRY and the size of its population are half that of the former SFRY, the strength of our new army has also been reduced significantly. It now has approximately 120,000 men. The drafted personnel and the officer corps mainly consist of representatives of the Serbian and Montenegrin peoples. In the future professionals will make up more than half the army's personnel. I would like to emphasize: The source of the Yugoslav Army's combat might and moral strength is the tremendous patriotic and freedom-loving traditions enshrined in the peoples of Serbia and Montenegro and their fortitude displayed during the years of World War II. The Yugoslav Army's tasks stem from the tremendous changes that have occurred and are now occurring in the Balkans. They include, above all, the reliable defense of the FRY's independence, territorial integrity, and sovereignty against an armed provocation and attack by any potential aggressor. In accordance with the existing present military-political situation on the territory of the former SFRY, when fighting is continuing in Bosnia and Herzegovina, when Croatian troops have launched aggression on the territory of the Serbian Republic of Krajina, and when the very existence of the Serbs in Croatia and in Bosnia and Herzegovina has been jeopardized, by decision of the FRY leadership the country's armed forces can be involved in defending territories populated by Serbs and Montenegrins. It should be emphasized that we are ready to counter a strike with a strike at any moment. Our army's fate is inseparable from the fate of the Serbs and Montenegrins.... [passage omitted]

[Oliynik] It is well known that the FRY leadership, as distinct from Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina, has fulfilled all the demands contained in the UN Security Council's resolutions. But both the United States and the EC countries continue to take a harsh anti-Serbian stand. What, in your view, are the reasons for such a one-sided Western approach to evaluating the FRY's actions?

[Panic] This is not an easy question. It is possible now to voice only suppositions about the deep-seated reasons for the Western countries' anti-Serbian stand. If we speak of Germany, it has always been opposed to a unified and strong Yugoslavia. Naturally, as soon as circumstances permitted, none other than the FRG along with the Vatican initiated a sharp exacerbation of nationalism and separatism in Croatia and Slovenia, and the breakup of the former SFRY began in accordance with their scenario. As for the United States, the Americans have taken a distinctive attitude to all the changes occurring in the former socialist countries, including, or maybe particularly, Yugoslavia, appreciating the transformation of the communist system there in keeping with the political concept that they worked out. The FRY—particularly Serbia, which formed part of it—which was categorized among the "disobedient states" and did not join the new world order, evidently found itself under attack and was then punished with one-sided UN Security Council sanctions. You have noticed accurately: Even after our country's leadership fulfilled all the demands in the UN Security Council resolutions, withdrew army units from the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina, supported the Vance-Owen plan for its constitutional system, and undertook a number of other peace-loving efforts aimed at a peaceful resolution of the Yugoslav crisis, the Western countries still see the Serbs as the only people to blame for the conflict in the Balkans. Now Croatian troops are perpetrating overt aggression on the territory of the Serbian Republic of Krajina, hundreds of entirely innocent people have died, there are also casualties among the personnel of the UN forces in Yugoslavia, and the news media in the majority of Western countries are continuing to provide one-sided coverage of the events happening in our country. In this situation our country hopes for an objective and constructive position on the part of democratic Russia, which, in our view, more than any other country in the world, can and must now redouble its efforts to establish peace in the Balkans by political means....

[Oliynik] You mentioned Croatia's recent attack on the Republic of Serbian Krajina. What, in your opinion, was the underlying reason for that act?

[Panic] Zagreb is undoubtedly pursuing several aims with this aggression. The chief one is to wreck the Vance-Owen plan which was achieved with such tremendous difficulty. The second, no less important aim is to drag the FRY and its armed forces into one more military conflict. In short, everything is being done to create in certain Western political circles the semblance of conditions for the possible adoption of UN Security Council decisions on the use of foreign military force on the territory of the former SFRY.

[Oliynik] Despite the fact, however, that more and more countries, and Russia above all, have now come out in support of the plan for a peaceful settlement of the conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina, unfortunately the question of foreign military interference (the use of NATO forces under UN auspices has not been ruled out) in the Bosnian crisis has not been removed from the agenda. How does the army regard such a possible development of events?

[Panic] I can answer in one word—indignantly. I have already indicated the true causes of the armed conflicts on the territory of the former SFRY. At the same time everyone who has recently been following the Yugoslav drama attentively is well aware of our country's peacemaking efforts and initiatives in order to extinguish this conflagration as quickly as possible. It can be extinguished with the help only of political and diplomatic means. Any violent solution to the Bosnian crisis, particularly by means of military intervention, behind whatever peacemaking actions they may be concealed, will have an anti-Serbian thrust and will lead to a sharp exacerbation of interethnic clashes, the escalation of the war in the Balkans, and the involvement of other states in this bloody maelstrom. God forbid, as the saying goes, but if possible military intervention by the West and certain Islamic states still ensues, we will be forced to regard this as a flagrant act of armed aggression against the Serbs and Montenegrins and against the Slavs in general. In this case, according to a decision of the FRY leadership, the army will mobilize its entire potential. In the interests of defending the independence and sovereignty of the FRY and the territory of Serbia and Montenegro we are ready to make the greatest sacrifices....

[Oliynik] How do you regard the fact that certain politicians accuse the Air Force of the FRY Army of violations of the "no-fly zone" introduced by the United Nations in the airspace of Bosnia and Herzegovina?

[Panic] This is a blatant lie. The last flight by an aircraft of the Serbian Republic Air Force was recorded in that region 5 December last year, and our military aircraft have not appeared there since then. This is impossible too—there are UN observers at every airfield of ours. Incidentally, officials of the UN forces in Yugoslavia and also the U.S. military structures based at sea have repeatedly asserted that this ban is being violated exclusively by the Croatian Air Force. Unfortunately, this fact, like the majority of Zagreb's other aggressive actions, does not receive timely condemnation from the world community. Now that the Croatian Army is continuing aggression against the territory of the Republic of Serbian Krajina, which, moreover, is under the protection of UN forces, a possible UN Security Council decision on military measures or, more accurately, the hitting of military aircraft in the "forbidden zone" of Bosnia and Herzegovina can only be regarded as a previously calculated ban on flights by FRY military aircraft and on the fulfillment of tasks associated with the possible protection of Serbs in the Republic of Serbian Krajina.

[Oliynik] In conclusion, Mr. General, could you express your position regarding cooperation with the Russian Federation Defense Ministry and the Russian Army as a whole?

[Panic] Unfortunately, we have no relations with the Defense Ministry at present—Moscow is carefully abiding by the UN Security Council sanctions. Although Russia has subscribed to the one-sided sanctions against Serbia and Montenegro, however, it has not yet lost our confidence. International cooperation between our countries and armies is possible in practically all spheres in accordance with mutual interests. But this, as is known, is the prerogative of our governments and political leaders. In my view, a turning point is now coming, when Russia's authority can contribute in every possible way to the restoration of peace in the Balkans by peaceful means. As the first step toward greater mutual understanding between our armies it would be expedient, we believe, to organize an exchange of military correspondents on a mutually advantageous basis in order to ensure objective coverage of the events taking place in our countries and armies. We are prepared to receive as soon as possible the correspondent of KRASNAYA ZVEZDA, a newspaper that enjoys popularity among army servicemen and our peoples.

From the editorial office. The author thanks employees of the military attache at the Russian Federation Embassy in Belgrade for their assistance in organizing this interview.

Serbia

Assembly Elects Sainovic Government

LD1002175793 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1709 GMT 10 Feb 93

[Text] Belgrade, Feb 10 (TANJUG)—Serbian Parliament on Wednesday [10 February] endorsed Prime Minister-designate Nikola Sainovic's proposal for his cabinet, in which the key portfolios—foreign affairs, internal affairs, defence—would be retained by the ministers of the previous government.

Thus Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic, Interior Minister Zoran Sokolovic, and Defence Minister retired Yugoslav Army General Marko Negovanovic, would enter the new cabinet.

The new government, which received a 162-12-5 vote from parliament, would have 22 ministers and five vice-premiers.

Sainovic announced the names of four of the five vice-premiers—Zoran Arandjelovic, Srboljub Vasovic, Dragoslav Jovanovic, and Danilo Z. Markovic (also to be minister of education)—while the fifth vice-premier would be appointed later.

In presenting his programme, Sainovic, who has recently resigned his post of the economy minister in the Federal Government, pointed out that the principal objectives were: peace, economic development, and energetic and efficient state.

As for Serbia's foreign policy, its basic characteristic would be the struggle for peace in the areas of former Yugoslavia, said Sainovic.

Through its participation both in the U.N. peace process and in efforts of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (F.R.Y.), the government would always strive for the Serb people inhabiting today the war-ridden areas of the former federation to be able to make decisions on their own fate.

Sainovic pointed out in particular that the integrity of the Republic of Serbia was inviolable and that this was the basic objection to the position about the southern Serbian province of Kosovo and Metohija. He called members of the Albanian, Hungarian and other nationality minorities to come at the talks on the realization of minority and human rights ensured by Serbia in keeping with international norms.

The government's economic policy, Sainovic said, has the following three basic goals—reversing production decline to production growth, suppressing hiperinflation, and organizing public projects.

Article Reviews Campaign Television Coverage

AU1002174793 Belgrade NIN in Serbo-Croatian 29 Jan 93 pp 30, 31

[Article by Snjezana Milivojevic and Jovanka Matic: "Decisive Minutes"]

[Text] The average Serb watches the television news in the evening, so that he can know how to think and what to say tomorrow. Such a conclusion could have been disputed, or rejected, if we had not had the results of the so-called "democratic elections in Serbia."

The following analysis certainly shows best both the power of the television news, and the correct conclusion drawn by the ruling party that the television news "must be kept powerful at any price." To illustrate, we compared the Serbia radio-television [RTVS] evening news program and the "Days of the Week" news program from Independent Television Studio B [NTSB]. Of course, the freshest sample—preparations for the recent elections—was examined.

According to the data from the "Media Treatment of Campaign 1992" (every other day was examined) study, the differences began with the time "apportioned." The Socialist Party of Serbia [SPS] was given about 42 minutes in the television news program, which is five times more than it received on "Days of the Week." The Democratic Movement of Serbia [DEPOS] was given 38 minutes in the NTSB broadcast—one third more than the SPS. The most even-handed treatment was received by the Democratic Party: 15 minutes and 54 seconds on the news and 14 minutes and 35 seconds on "Days of the Week." The Serbian Radical Party [SRS] was given 10 minutes and 30 seconds on the news and completely ignored by NTSB—not a single mention.

The thematic structure of the messages is quite interesting. The SPS representatives mostly spoke of Serbian enemies and the Serbian national issue. In one-third of their performances on RTVS they spoke of their rivals in the elections. Through their rhetoric they amplified the conflict, or accused the other people in regard to the current problems. They mostly referred to Milan Panic, the opposition, and foreign politicians, and without exception used arrogant and aggressive language.

Another SPS theme widely discussed is the Serbian national question, and it occupied one-fourth of all broadcasts. The SPS representatives mostly spoke of the Serbian people, and the Serbs living out of Serbia. The context was always positive, language affirmative, and the rhetoric apologetic. Certainly, the messages of the NTSB broadcasts were also similar. The ruling party obviously imposed the Serbian national question as the most important one in the campaign.

The Rhythm

The RTVS presented the SPS as a large and organized party. Its many representatives were given a chance to appear and speak (Covic, Crncevic, Minic, Jovic, Dacic, Percevic), and their performances were focused thematically and pronounced evenly.

The opposition parties differently conveyed the campaign messages. The DEPOS and the Democratic Party were obviously orientated toward positive marketing—promoting themselves and criticizing the authorities. In five of the 10 broadcasts, the DEPOS spoke of the authorities, but it spent an equal amount of time delivering campaign promises. A very similar thematic structure was found in Democratic Party broadcasts. Comparing these two, the difference in speech mannerisms of their representatives was very eye-catching. The DEPOS representatives were much more exclusive and even aggressive, while the democrats were moderate and conciliatory, even when being critical. The DEPOS was represented by many different spokesmen, discussing many different themes. The leaders were using quite different language, and everything was thematically unsystematic. Usually two leaders (Micunovic and Djindjic) spoke in the name of the Democratic Party, giving the impression that it is a party with a detailed platform (because of thematic variety), and with duties clearly allotted within the party (because of the focused spokesmen).

The greatest thematic focus and fewest spokesmen were presented by the SRS. All six RTVS broadcasts featured party leader Vojislav Seselj. He discussed three themes: campaign rivals (six times), the Army (once), and social issues (once). He referred to several protagonists: Panic, Milosevic, Branko Kostic [candidate for Montenegrin president], Montenegrin presidential candidates, foreign statesmen, the Army, and the media. Seselj spoke positively about only two, even apologetically—Milosevic and Kostic. Everyone else, particularly Panic, was treated with aggressiveness and animosity. Seselj attacked Panic in four out of six RTVS broadcasts.

The presentation of these four parties in the RTVS and the NTSB news programs also reveals many things. Two weeks before election day, the NTSB broadcast one or two reports daily on the DEPOS and the Democratic Party and three reports on the SPS. Regarding the DEPOS and the DP, the RTVS had a similar schedule, but the SPS received the same treatment only in the first week of the campaign conclusion. In the last week there were five RTVS reports daily on the SPS. On 17 December, the day before the election blackout, there was only one report on the SPS but it was nine minutes long.

According to the regulations, the RTVS was, as the state-owned television, obliged to provide the equal treatment to all parties and candidates. However, the SPS was given much more time in the TV News than the other parties were.

Presidents

As for the presidential candidates, conclusions are similar in many aspects.

The RTVS broadcast six reports on Milosevic and on Panic, respectively. The Milosevic reports (totalling 74 minutes and 45 seconds) were three times longer than those on Panic (20 minutes and seven seconds). One could hear the live Milosevic broadcasts almost five times more frequently than the Panic broadcasts. At the same time, the NTSB broadcast five reports on Milosevic totaling 18 minutes and 48 seconds, and six reports on Panic totaling 17 minutes and 31 seconds.

Throughout the world, primary state officials, particularly state presidents and prime ministers, are by their position the most legitimate source of information—what they say or do deserves to be news. Therefore the entire Milosevic campaign was carried out in a kind of state marketing campaign, which is a formula already proven in the previous campaign, and it turned out to be very successful.

Panic, however, was forced to combine the regular activities with the classic manner campaigning because of the limited access to the RTVS—which is also a proven trick, dating from the time when Ante Markovic was prime minister. Therefore it appeared as though Milosevic were not taking part in his campaign, as though he needed no competition.

The RTVS accepted unreservedly such a way of promoting only one candidate, and represented his campaigning as official business without a limitation on television time. The Panic activities, however, were reported on in the specially prepared campaign chronicle that had limited air time.

The president has the prerogative of official travel even during the campaign. People say that in the office of the Reagan campaign chief of political marketing, there was a slogan reading: "Do not tell us how to direct an event, and we will not tell you how to report on it." Nevertheless, the RTVS broadcast reports on Milosevic activities lasting up to 33 minutes! That is normally the duration of the entire television newscast! The same amount of time was given to Milosevic for just one day of activities (a visit to Kosovo, one day before the electoral blackout), and to the two largest opposition parties in the last two weeks of the campaign.

Even if we explain such a disproportion on RTVS by the wisdom of the Milosevic advisers in political marketing, the bent of state- owned television in other aspects is more than apparent. In the last two weeks of the campaign, nine reports on other people speaking of Milosevic (22 minutes and six seconds) were broadcast, while there were 43 such reports on Panic (91 minutes and six minutes). Milosevic was positively appraised in seven reports and negatively in two. The positive reports were three times as lengthy as the negative reports (five minutes).

Orchestration

Panic, however, was presented negatively in 29 reports (73 minutes), and only 14 reports were positive (eight minutes). In 23 out of 29 reports, where other people spoke of Panic, extremely aggressive, exclusive, and arrogant language was used. The federal prime minister was called a "traitor," "enemy of the Serbian people," "foreign spy," "secret agent of foreign powers sent to implement the sanctions in Serbia, and to help the Serbs' enemies to wipe out the Serbian people." In 15 broadcasts the reason for reporting was not some current event, which is the principle job of television, but rather pseudo-events, specially designed to attract media attention and usually released only after editorial approval.

One can also see differently "orchestrated" attacks on Panic: On 8 December, when it was still unknown whether Panic was going to be a candidate at all, the RTVS broadcast six reports on him with one positive, one negative, and four neutral. From the day Panic was officially nominated until the end of the campaign, only two more positive reports and one neutral report were broadcast. The other 26 reports were negative!

The NTSB was, however, significantly moderate. Of the nine reports on Milosevic, six represented him negatively, one positively, and two neutrally. Besides, the people who criticized him in these reports, which had been approved by NTSB editors, used aggressive rhetoric in only one instance and critical rhetoric in three others.

In 30 NTSB reports on Panic, nine viewed him positively (26 minutes), which is to say nine reports more than on Milosevic (one minute). Fifty percent of the reports on Panic were neutral (17 minutes) and 20 percent (11 minutes) were negative. In view of the fact that the opinions of Panic by other people were broadcast in news programs (the NTSB has more of them), and that these attitudes were mostly repeated, the positive rhetoric was rather moderate but not apologetic, and in only four cases was the negative rhetoric exclusive and aggressive. It is noteworthy that the NTSB broadcast foreign assessments of Panic three times more often than the RTVS did.

The conclusion of the election story told by two different television stations is now visible. The breach between the two clans became even deeper. There have been more differences, and ever less communication.

Nis Machine Industry Needs Government Aid

93BA0549A Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 25 Jan 93 p 20

[Article by Z. Miladinovic: "Nis Mechanical Engineering Works: Nothing Without the State"]

[Text] "If the problem of the 2,000 workers who are on paid leave is not resolved with the help of the Serbian government—as was agreed during the consolidation of

MIN [Nis Mechanical Engineering Works]—there could be major disturbances at this collective. We have already paid those workers the 30 million dinars that we got from the Republican Development Fund for their wages, and we even had to take out loans for their November payments. Moreover, we will have to find the strength to send a certain additional number of workers on paid leave," says Milovan Krivokapic, the general director of Nis Mechanical Engineering Works, noting that "MIN was consolidated thanks to the Serbian government."

"The situation at MIN will not be good without further government assistance," the general director continues. "When we consolidated the collective together with it, over the course of last year, and sent 2,000 workers on two years of paid leave, we received the first sum for their personal income. The government and the Republican Development Fund are still interested in us, but because of the war, the embargo, inflation, and major problems in other systems, the next 'shipment' of money did not arrive. This money was spent exclusively to pay these workers, but even in November we paid them from our own resources, with the help of a Nis bank and loans."

Krivokapic contends that last year was positive for MIN in terms of business, and that "despite everything" it achieved more than 80 percent of its planned business—which he considers a success. He mentions ambitious plans for this year, in which business with the railroads, the Armed Forces of Yugoslavia, RTB [mining-smelting works] Bor, the Petroleum Industry of Serbia, and water-power installations is projected. If the blockade is lifted in the near future, he says, a continuation of business in gasification and "Kolubara B" is expected, while "Fam" from MIN Holding alone "has reserves of finished products worth around three billion dinars." The pronounced optimism of the MIN general director is obvious in his assertion that "for an average wage at MIN of $120 to $140, an annual production plan of $120 million is needed. And MIN has already contracted for half of that plan," he contends.

"All that we need is for the banks to follow us adequately, and not with interest with which not a single producer is able to get by. If there is order, work, and discipline in the collective, MIN will be better than last year. We are counting on workers being patient and having understanding for the low personal income. A certain number of them we will simply have to send on paid leave (10 to 30 percent of the workers at the MIN plants are 'technological surplus'). But these problems too should be solved together with the Serbian government," says Krivokapic.

Coal Shortage Causes Zastava Car Factory Damage

93BA0549B Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 25 Jan 93 p 20

[Article by Z. Radovanovic: "Damage at 'Zastava'"]

[Text] The serious damage to the heating system at the "Zastava" automobile factory is (or was) a subject of widespread discussion lately in Kragujevac, but officially no one is saying anything. Unofficially, it has been learned that the damage from ruptured steam-line installations is practically inestimable, while the maintenance department at the "Zastava" factory is saying, semi-officially, that so far it has been impossible to determine how much damage there is, but that the "balance sheet" will be known sometime next week.

"Thus far, around 90 percent of the damage has been repaired, and the remaining damaged valves will be replaced or fixed over the next two or three days. Since most of 'rupture' of the heating system at 'Zastava Automobile' was in the 'Mechanical Processing' and 'Body' departments and at the Institute, where there is practically no work going on these days, it did not do any major harm to the production process," Mihajlo Rancic, the director of maintenance, tells BORBA.

They say that safety plans were drawn up for that "Zastava" factory as early as last October, in the event that there is no heat. Thus, in those plants where no production was planned until 18 January 1993, machines and equipment that use water were conserved, and they received promises from "Energetika" that they would be notified of the coal situation in a timely fashion, meaning that the "energy specialists" would let them know in time that they should drain water from the pipes if there was to be no fuel.

"The basic cause of the rupture in the installations is the fuel shortage that has inflicted great hardship on all of us this winter. At the end of 1992, we were assured by 'Energetika' that the factory would be adequately heated during this period, so that even when the halls are empty, the temperature would be at a level adequate to maintain the installation in working order," emphasizes Nikola Cirkovic, the director of operative maintenance at "Zastava Automobile."

People in Kragujevac who are better acquainted with this problem say that the damage to the heating system at "Zastava" could have been avoided, even if "Energetika" does not have enough coal. They say that the steam should have been discharged from the hot-water lines in time, the temperature of which could not have "withstood" the January freezes. However, someone at "Zastava" should have thought about that. But the damage occurred after the New Year's holiday and before Christmas, when people were "forgetting their troubles."

At "Zastava" and "Energetika," it is impossible these days to find anyone who can say anything on this subject, because the people with the most responsibility are on a long "business trip."

Macedonia

Gligorov Discusses Possibility of Recognition

PM1002114993 Milan PANORAMA in Italian 7 Feb 93 p 78

[Unattributed interview with Macedonian President Kiro Gligorov; date and place not given]

[Text] [PANORAMA] Macedonia has been waiting 16 months for recognition by the EC states. Why such a long wait?

[Gligorov] Macedonia satisfied the conditions laid down by the EEC for diplomatic recognition some time ago: a constitution offering widespread guarantees to the various nationalities living on our territory, and a solemn declaration in which we renounce any claim to territories in neighboring states. Even though we have not yet been admitted to the United Nations, we have adhered to the sanctions against Serbia and Montenegro despite the fact that this has forced our whole economy to its knees. All this has been of no use: Greece's veto is paralyzing the other EEC partners and preventing diplomatic recognition of our country.

[PANORAMA] And yet the European Arbitration Commission, chaired by Frenchman Robert Badinter, has approved your request...

[Gligorov] It is truly paradoxical that Macedonia, the only one of the former Yugoslav republics to have achieved independence without violence, is the country paying for it through international isolation. Other former Yugoslav states, condemned by public opinion for their aggressive policies, have been recognized and have UN seats.

[PANORAMA] Greece claims that your republic should change its name. Do you think that, if that condition is satisfied, Athens will put an end to its obstructive tactics?

[Gligorov] No. The name issue is clearly a pretext. There are no reasonable grounds for asking us to change it: The Macedonian Republic existed throughout the Yugoslav Federation's 48-year history; our people have always been Macedonian. The Greeks know full well that we will never give up our right to exist; they are asking us something which is impossible. It is a mistaken position, both counterproductive and dangerous for Greece itself.

[PANORAMA] Why dangerous?

[Gligorov] Athens must understand that the existence of an independent Macedonia is in its interest too. It is better to have a small and peaceful state like ours as a neighbor than Serbia or anyone else... That has been proved in the past two years: If Macedonia had not been there to act as a buffer, the war would be on Greece's borders today.

[PANORAMA] Is there any danger that Macedonia's Serbian population will be used as a tool to unleash a conflict?

[Gligorov] This attempt is already taking place. In the last few weeks increasing threats have been coming from Serbia, from political forces concerned about the "persecutions" to which Macedonian citizens of Serbian nationality are supposedly being subjected. And we immediately noticed an increase in strange activities in the territories inhabited by Serbs. I get the unpleasant feeling that a scenario which we have already seen in Croatia and Bosnia-Hercegovina is being repeated.

[PANORAMA] Are you worried about open confrontation between Albanians and Serbs in Kosovo?

[Gligorov] That would be a tragedy which would involve Macedonia as well, unleashing a new Balkan war. Europe must make every effort to get Kosovo's in dependence restored.

[PANORAMA] Why has such ferocious conflict broken out among the peoples of the former Yugoslavia?

[Gligorov] I had known for a long time that all the elements for a clash were present. But I would never have though it possible that we would reach such levels of violence, of genocide planned and practiced in order to create "ethnically pure" states: This is antihistorical and immoral madness. The international community's first duty is to prevent the war from spreading and to bring peace back to the Balkans. If these aims are to be achieved, it is essential for Macedonia to be recognized soon by international organizations.

Two-Way Telephone Links With Slovenia Restored

LD1002210793 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1229 GMT 10 Feb 93

[Text] Skopje, 10 Feb (TANJUG)—Two-way telephone links between Macedonia and Slovenia have been restored, Laza Jovevski, manager of the telecommunication PTT [post, telegraph, telephone] service of Macedonia said.

After over a year of discontinued telephone communication between the two former Yugoslav republics, a direct line has been established because of the Swiss communication system in the Zurich telephone exchange.

"Because of the Swiss communication system, two-way telephone communications with Croatia, with which we have had only one-way lines since November, should function unimpeded as well," Jovevski said.

Telephone communications with the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia operate without any difficulties but lines with former Bosnia-Hercegovina have been cut off completely.

Montenegro

Liberal Alliance To Take Part in Government

LD1002170293 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1310 GMT 10 Feb 93

[Excerpt] Podgorica, 10 Feb (TANJUG)—The chairman of the Liberal Alliance, Slavko Perovic, stated today that his party would accept an offer by Montenegrin Prime Minister Milo Djukanovic to take part in the new republic government.

Having assessed the offer as constructive, Perovic told a news conference that behind it was the ruling party's desire to share responsibility for the current situation with the opposition and to preempt possible criticism for everything done in the past.

Nevertheless, the Liberal Alliance will accept the offer, because it can only profit from it. The Liberal Alliance will first of all show that it is not most responsible for the flare-up of political passions in Montenegro.

Perovic told journalists that Djukanovic did not make special conditions for nominations, except expertise. Djukanovic also, according to Perovic, made it clear that the ruling party will keep the ministries for foreign and internal affairs. [passage omitted]

Rozaje Municipality Unable To Cope With Refugees

LD1002220393 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1545 GMT 10 Feb 93

[Excerpt] Rozaje, 10 Feb (TANJUG)—The exodus of Muslims from the area of the Trebinje municipality [southwestern Bosnia-Hercegovina] has severe economic, social, and political consequences, Federal Minister for Human Rights and Minority Rights Momcilo Grubac said following his visit to the Trebinje and Rozaj municipalities.

The Government of Montenegro is doing everything, in cooperation with the UNHCR [Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees], to alleviate the difficult situation in the Rozaje municipality as it cannot cope successfully with this difficult problem despite the generous help provided by its working organizations and citizens.

There are several aspects of the serious problem of refugees in Rozaje. We are going to submit a report on all this to President of Yugoslavia Dobrica Cosic, who has authorized our visit, and the Federal Government, the federal minister said.

Today, we acknowleged that human rights are under threat here. With the help of the municipal, republic, and Federal Government we are going to do everything to secure better care for these unfortunate people, Grubac said.

"However, as far as demands are concerned relating to the sending of these people to the territory of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and abroad, something most of them want to do, the government cannot do much. It will contact the governments of those countries which would like to receive these people through the UNHCR and, provided there are such possibilities, we will do everything to help them."

Asked by reporters about the reasons prompting these people to leave their homes, the federal minister for human rights, who today talked here to a delegation of Trebinje's refugees in the absence of the press, said that there were a number of reasons and that he would list them and present to the Federal Government once he returned to Belgrade.

In adition to the 2,000 refugees from Bosnia who arrived in Rozaje on an earlier occasion another 2,000 refugees have arrived over the past 15 days from Trebinje. At the moment there are 4,271 refugees. This latest wave of refugees has created problems on such a scale in the Rozaje municipality that the president of the Municipal Assembly regards them as a powerful economic and social bomb which this municipality can no longer cope with without immediate aid from the federal and republican government. [passage omitted]

[Belgrade TANJUG in English at 2106 GMT on 10 February, in a Rozaje-datelined report, notes the following: "Yugoslav Minister for Human and Minority Rights Momcilo Grubac on 10 February visited Moslem refugees in Montenegro and inquired about their reasons for leaving Trebinje, a town in Serb-controlled southeast Bosnia-Hercegovina. Grubac said he would report the findings of his mission to Federal President Dobrica Cosic, who had sent him to Rozaje, and to the Federal Government.

"Trebinje Mayor Bozidar Vucurevic told Grubac that interethnic relations in that largely Serb-populated town had been good but the Moslems moved out only after receiving instructions to do so from the Moslem Democratic Action Party of Alija Izetbegovic in Sarajevo. Over 2,000 refugees from Trebinje have arrived in Rozaje over the past two weeks, bringing to 4,271 the total number of refugees in this underdeveloped Montenegrin municipality. The government of Montenegro, in cooperation with the UN high commissioner for refugees, is doing everything in its power to ease the difficult situation in the Rozaje municipality, but the problem is too large for it to handle, said Grubac."]

Kosovo

U.S. Plan 'Warmly Welcomed' by Bukoshi

AU1102133493 Tirana ATA in English 0925 GMT 11 Feb 93

[Text] Tirana, February 11 (ATA)—Dr. Bujar Bukoshi, premier of the Republic of Kosovo, writes in a letter to the U.S. President Bill Clinton:

"It is a special honour and pleasure for me to address you regarding an issue which your administration has extensively tackled with, the Yugoslav crisis. The U.S. reply for a clearcut and exact attitude to the aggression and 'fait accompli' attained by the force of arms, is for us, two million Albanians in Kosovo, not only an inspiration but also a guarantee. It is also a support for justice and social aims.

Mr. President, the people of Kosovo are extremely sad over the fact that ethnic cleansing, as a result of war and massacres, can be recognized as an acceptable reality, can be legalized and imposed on the innocent people and victims. To this end your attitude to Vance-Owen plan on Bosnia-Hercegovina was warmly welcomed. We feel extremely sad over the effect the acceptance of an unjust and discriminating plan might exert on the Albanians of Kosovo.

As legitimate representative of two million Albanians, who are subjected to terror and are striving to attain their political independence and freedom by peaceful means, the unchanged policy to Kosovo as well as the one-sided attitude and commitment of the Belgrade authorities to our peaceful stand, is troublesome. As a result, the situation continues to be explosive and the danger of the spread of conflict is more inevitable than ever. The ethnic cleansing launched in Kosovo some years ago should not go on and what is more important, it should not be sanctioned. The Albanians in the Balkans continue to attain their aims by peaceful means. In this context we call on the U.S.A. to support us in order to avoid a regional catastrophe.

In the end, allow me to reiterate my firm confidence that America, led by you, will always stick to the right rather than to the strength, and in this context, to the Albanians of Kosovo too."

ATA Reports Mazowiecki Comments on Kosovo

AU1102125793 Tirana ATA in English 1143 GMT 11 Feb 93

[Text] Tirana, February 11 (ATA)—In the debate which has started in Geneva on the question of the human rights in former Yugoslavia, Mazowiecki [United Nations Human Rights Commission special rapporteur] stressed that the Albanian population in Kosovo is greatly discriminated by the Serbian power. The frequent victims among the Albanians caused by the Serbian police and the fact that armed military and paramilitary forces are operating in Kosovo show that the situation in that region is ever more explosive claiming for greater proportions and more victims. Further on, Mazowiecki dwelt on the situation of the human rights in Macedonia. He said that due to a wise political leadership, this republic has managed to eliminate a bloody war, but, he added, the danger of a possible conflict still exists, because there too there are a lot of human rights violations.

The Kosovo delegation too attended the session of February 8, represented by Nehat Islami and Flaka Surroi. Parallel with the 49th UN session on human rights, another closed door meeting is going on in Geneva in the seat of the Swiss Mission in this organization. According to reports, it is discussing the commencement of an international trial to judge on the authors of the crimes and human rights violations in former Yugoslavia.

Serb Police Intensify 'House Searches'

AU1002211393 Tirana ATA in English 1139 GMT 10 Feb 93

[Text] Tirana, February 10 (ATA)—House searches, controls, and arrests of the Albanians throughout Kosovo are still on the agenda of the Serb police. The notorious arms searching initiative is intended to increase tension in Kosovo artificially and the ethnic cleansing of the Albanians there. Presently the situation is graver in the villages of Peje and Decan communes bordering Albania. Recently these two communes were subjected to lots of house searches. Hundreds of Albanians who were summoned at the police stations were asked to hand out weapons and no matter whether they had or not they were forced to find them. There are many a cases when many Albanians, threatened of being deported from their soil, are forced to buy weapons and deliver them at the police stations.

Albanians Ignoring Serb Authorities on Education

LD1102104793 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0949 GMT 11 Feb 93

[Text] Pristina, Feb 11 (TANJUG)—Ethnic Albanians in the Serbian Province of Kosovo and Metohija ignore the education organs of the Republic of Serbia and do not inform them about the Albanian-language curriculums, Kosovo education officials said on Thursday [11 February].

The Serbian Education Ministry has proposed that ethnic Albanians submit for verification the curriculums for the Albanian language, history, geography, and music classes, but they openly rejected.

The proposal was made at the talks in Geneva recently, devoted to the problem of Albanian-language classes. The Yugoslav side was briefly informed about some of the Albanian-language curriculums, by Gert Arens—the chairman of the working group for Kosovo, which is part of the Geneva conference on former Yugoslavia.

Ethnic Albanians' political parties do not recognize Serbia's authorities and laws, but call for the creation of a "Republic of Kosovo" and for the province to secede from Serbia and the F.R. Yugoslavia and join neighbouring Albania.

The parties have called the schools to boycott the curriculums prepared by the Serbian Education Ministry, and are organizing classes in private houses and under their own curriculums.

Qosja Meets With Visiting U.S. Delegation

AU1002184693 Tirana ATA in English 1133 GMT 10 Feb 93

[Text] Tirana, February 10 (ATA)—In the Albanological Institute in Pristina, the Academician Rexhep Qosja met with the director of the Strategic Study Centre in Washington, Mr. Janus Bugajski and the coworker of the International Republican Institute, Ms. Mary Catherine Anders. In this meeting they got acquainted with the view of the Kosovar academician on the democratic development among the Albanians, the crisis in the territories of former Yugoslavia, the Albanian question, and options for its solution. The Academician Qosja presented his views saying that the Albanian question is the central national question of the Balkans and without its correct and permanent solution there can be no stable equilibrium in the Balkans, there can be no order of justice, humanism, and peace in the Balkans.

Kosovo Albanian Leaders in 'Suspense' Phase

93BA0537C Belgrade INTERVJU in Serbo-Croatian 25 Dec 92 pp 69-71

[Article by Momcilo Petrovic: "Skipetar Leaders in Kosmet: Great Suspense"]

[Text] Ibrahim Rugova, president of the "Republic of Kosovo" and leader of the Democratic Alliance of Kosovo [DSK], has for more than three years been the undisputed leader of Albanians living in the south of Serbia. Following a decade marked by mass demonstrations in which there were dozens of casualties, he managed to rally almost all Albanians around his program of nonviolent struggle for an "independent, self-sufficient, and sovereign 'Republic of Kosovo.'" Nor have the parties formed in the meantime destroyed the high degree of national unity achieved.

In his "1,000 days," however, he has not managed to completely achieve the proclaimed objective, and now he faces shifting movements on the domestic political scene which, it is true, do not cast doubt on the ultimate aspirations (a "Republic"), but in any case suggests new patterns for the unraveling of the "Kosovo knot." In the circles of the parties with a civil rather than an ethnic orientation—the Parliamentary Party, whose president until recently was Veton Suroi, the Social Democratic Party (Ljuljet Beciri Pulja, president, Shkelzen Maliqi, vice president), and the Demochristian Party, headed by Ljazer Kresici, they are announcing formation of a coalition which with the authority of its members (not their numbers, because the DSK has almost 500,000 members and sympathizers among the 700,000 adult Albanians) would considerably alter the present position of the political seesaw on which the DSK is assuredly heavier.

Internal Relations

"Because of the present superiority of the DSK," says Gazmend Pulja, a member of the top leadership of the Parliamentary Party and president of the Helsinki Committee for Kosovo, "there is a possibility of a deformation of political relations, usurpation and reestablishment of monopoly, which is what uncontrolled political power usually degenerates into. If we are to prevent that and democratize interparty relations further, we are advocating increased effectiveness of the Coordinating Body of the political parties, and if we manage to achieve something in that regard, we will form a civil coalition."

The Coordinating Body is an interparty body made up of representatives of the five most influential parties (the DSK and the Parliamentary, Social Democratic, Demochristian, and Peasant Parties) which, in the absence of a parliament, has been articulating joint political interests. Although within it it had the support only of the Peasant Party, the DSK has had the decisive role. "We have one party which is dominant, which has taken upon itself the risk of defining both day-to-day policy and strategic moves, and this advisory body serves it only as a pluralistic form.... Strategic decisions are made in smaller informal groups," Shkelzen Maliqi said a year ago, expressing his dissatisfaction. Today, he speaks about forming a civil coalition only as an initiative and a kind of pressure on the leading party, "which will not threaten the homogenization that has been achieved," but it is obvious that the fact that the parliament of the "Republic of Kosovo" has not been set up even seven months after the election was held is putting a considerable burden on internal Albanian relations.

In an interview with INTERVJU, Gazmend Pulja said that "it was possible to set up the parliament, because everything that needed to be done first had been done," although there did and does exist a real danger that a move of that kind would aggravate relations with the Serbian authorities and cause a conflict. Fehmi Agani, vice president of the DSK, was much more restrained:

"We could have convened the parliament only if it was completely underground, which we did not want. We wanted to be legitimate and legal, at least to the extent that the elections were, elections which the Serbian government did not recognize, but neither did it prevent them. We are waiting for the moment when they will also take that kind of position toward convening of the Assembly."

Distrust of Serbs

The differences, however, seem deeper, and they are not manifested only in the efforts for redistribution of political power. Faced with the uncertainty of establishing an "independent, self-sufficient, and sovereign republic" on the territory of Kosovo and Metohija in the foreseeable future, some of the political parties have recently been expressing a readiness more and more openly to talk about the possibilities of finding a "transitional solution" in which Kosovo would have the status it had under the 1974 SFRY Constitution. It was in the context of those discussions that the possibility was examined of Albanians taking part in the election that has just been held.

The decision to boycott the election nevertheless was made above all because voting would have been an act of recognition of the state of Serbia, Gazmend Pulja says. That is, because guarantees were not received in good time that that act would be appropriately rewarded: by restoring to Kosovo the status it had before adoption of the new Constitution of the Republic of Serbia. The guarantees, according to him, should have been offered by the international community (whose representatives were insisting that they take part in the election) and by the Serbian opposition parties and Milan Panic, "on the basis of the superficial and nonbinding contacts there had been with them." A fear was also felt that the votes of the Albanians would not be enough for Panic to win, because some of the voters, otherwise uncommitted, would have voted for Milosevic on the siphoning principle...and positions in the world captured by the consistent boycott of the Serbian state would have been lost for nothing.

"Should it turn out (the discussions in Pristina were held the day of the election—author's note) that in the second round our votes might have had a decisive role, we are ready in all seriousness to look once again at the possibility of taking part, for all the risks that such a decision, the sacrifice of a part of the political platform, would have: destroying unity in the front of Albanian political parties and the loss of a portion of our members," Gazmend Pulja says.

"Assuming that we did vote and contributed decisively to Panic's victory, the question," Shkelzen Maliqi says, "is whether we would get anything more from him than we would lose by recognizing the state of Serbia.... I have told those emissaries of the European countries: You do not recognize Yugoslavia, but you are asking us to do so."

Shkelzen Maliqi also adds that the Albanians have had bad experience with the Serbs for 80 years and that they look upon the possibility of life in the future with a complete lack of confidence. "We ought to gather our strength and say: So let us try once again with some kind of democratic Serbia, if Serbia can be democratic. After all, this is a closed circle: To become democratic, it first has to solve the Kosovo problem, to get rid of Kosovo.... But even that option is under consideration."

"Bad Experience"

Fehmi Agani, however, rejects such a possibility: "The mood of the public is such as to preclude any life together whatsoever. On the contrary, even in the international community they are becoming aware that some kind of special status within Serbia is an unsatisfactory solution. We are getting more and more support for our vision of an independent and sovereign Kosovo...."

There are obvious differences in views of Kosovo's international position and the related definition of the most expedient behavior. Even so long as a year ago the DSK, referring to the differences of opinion that existed at the time, spoke out in a circular letter that included the following passage: "We emphasize that there is no Albanian opposition in Kosovo at present, nor, we believe, will there be one in the future, and no internal opposition will be created because someone wants it. This could happen in some better times, but that will not happen so long as Kosovo and the Albanians are in their present position. When better times come along, the Albanian opposition in Kosovo will be more diverse, pluralistic, and less ethnic." Better times have not come for anyone in these parts, but the "internal opposition" has emerged. Even the DSK acknowledges that the balance of power has changed. "The differences which are now becoming evident on the Albanian political scene are nothing unusual for the democracy which we are building," Fehmi Agani says.

The Albanians' abandonment of a boycott of the state of Serbia (incomplete, to be sure, because almost every family has at least one person employed, and even pensions are being regularly received) and the consent to talks on the status of Kosovo would certainly contribute, at least temporarily, to reducing the tension which is becoming increasingly difficult to live with in the province. In essence, however, as far as Serbia is concerned, nothing is changing, because the commitment of Kosovo Albanians continues to be an independent state as an intermediate phase toward formation of a unified state of all Albanians. Perhaps it is a legend that Fadil Hodza cried in '81 because the "fools ruined what was almost an accomplished fact" with their armed rebellion, but it is a fact that before enactment of the Constitution of the Republic of Serbia Kosovo was "an independent state, it just did not have the name Republic of Kosovo," as Maliqi says. In it, it is true, authority was in the hands of party-bureaucratic structures and perhaps that is why he talks about "bad experience." Because neither he nor other leaders of parties, all of them intellectuals trained in the time of "the terror," in which they held high positions on the social ladder, can speak from personal experience about the subjugated position of Albanians. It is a notorious fact that Kosovo's economic backwardness is not Serbia's fault, but that of the bureaucratic apparatus in which the Albanians were in complete control.

"We Accept Anyone's Assistance"

So, the announcement of a change of direction in their policy could also be viewed as correction of a mistake made more than 10 years ago by the "fools," now that it has turned out that Rugova's shortcut does not lead anywhere. Especially because the attitude of the world public favors "redistribution of the eggs into several baskets." While the European countries, at least for the present, are sticking by the position of unchangeability of borders, the Islamic countries are offering full support to secession. The Yugoslav public has not been exhaustively informed about the conclusions of the Muslim conference in Jeddah, but it is known that Albania has become a full-fledged member and that Kosovo was represented by Bujar Bukosi, the "Republic's" prime minister.

Consent to a dialogue with Serbia, whether about autonomy like the discussion in '74, or about a "special status," is therefore a wise political move. Because a degree of independence in such an autonomy also presupposes the right to secession, and territories with a "special status" for all practical purposes are part of the "parent country" only on the map.

The destiny of the Balkans, however, is to a large extent not in the hands of its inhabitants, however politically wise they might be. "We are ready to accept anyone's assistance," says Shkelzen Maliqi, "whether it is offered to us by the Islamic countries or Orthodox Russia. We are now in a phase of suspense."

And so is everyone else.